California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

December 1982/$2.50

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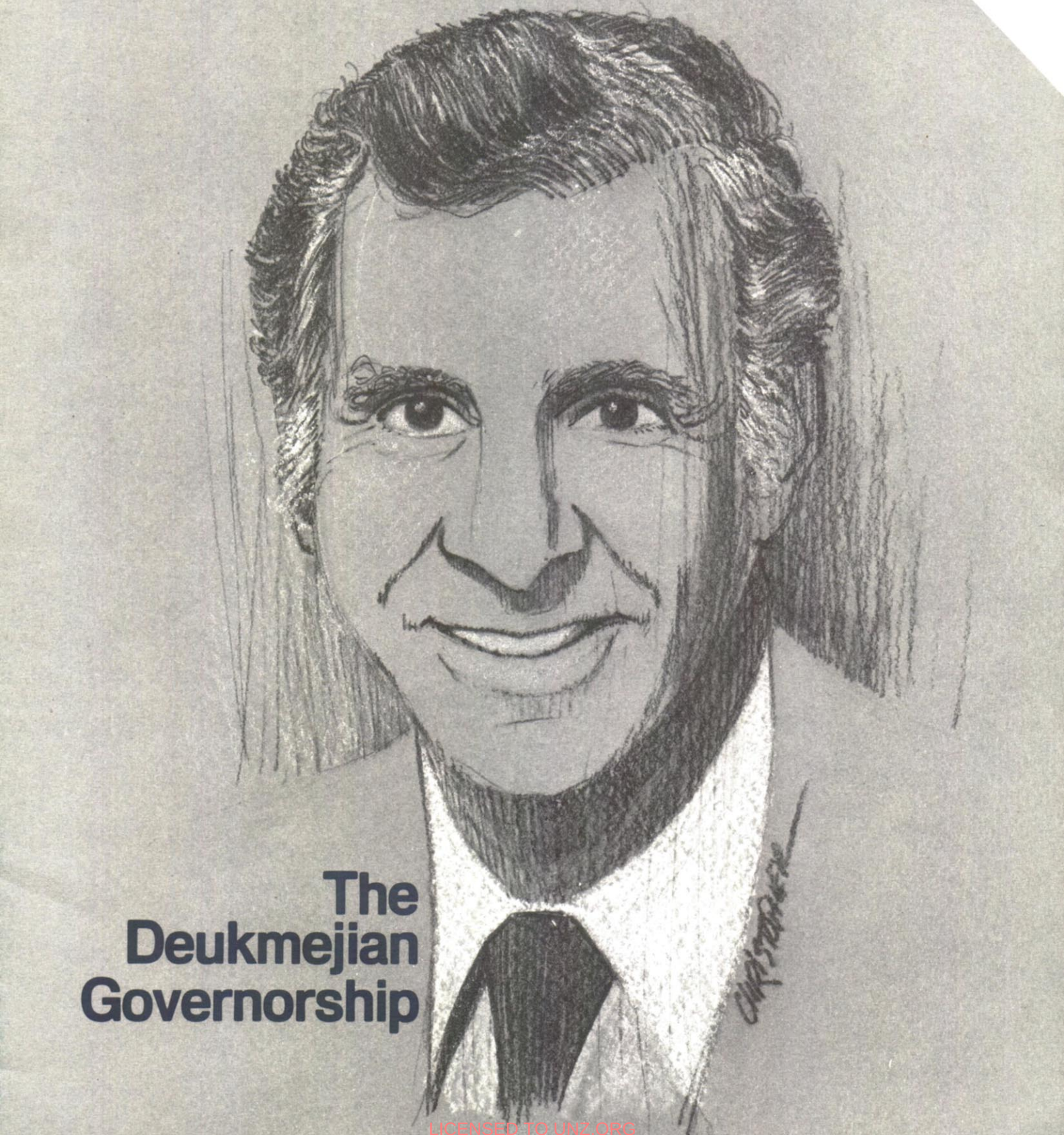
Complete Election Results and Analysis



The Deukmejian Governorship

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What those stories really mean

By CHARLES McFADDEN

Despite temptations to be otherwise, reporters covering politicians tend to be circumspect.

For example, while most legislators are sober and hard-working — most of the time — reporters covering afternoon committee hearings have occasionally been witness to lawmakers who have celebrated lunch at some

length and are slurring their words. Under such circumstances, reporters are liable to write that Senator Blank "appeared tired." If Senator Blank was giggling and looking around for a lampshade, reporters might write that "Senator Blank appeared very tired."

What you read, in sum, is not necessarily what the reporter might be muttering to himself or herself as the story is being written.

But all is not lost. There are telltale phrases that creep into stories and tell what's what. Politicians and their aides understand them, of course, but until now newspaper readers have been left out. We will end that exclusion now. Fair is fair. Read on, and you'll soon find that you, too, can read between the lines.

"Senator Blank has not been one of the state Senate's more active members."

• *He's a stumblebum who has shown up at a committee hearing only once this session, when he thought he was sneaking through a door to escape a constituent.*

"Congressman Blank appeared confused."

• *Congressman Blank is dumb.*

"Assemblyman Blank said he has had trouble raising money for his campaign, but added that he thought things would improve soon."

• *He's found a finance chairman who doesn't call millionaire campaign donors "Mac."*

"Senator Blank said Californians have traditionally been tolerant of diverse lifestyles."

• *He's beginning to think his administrative assistant is gay.*

"Blank said the only poll that really counts is the one on election day."

• *He hit 3 percent on the Field Poll five days before the election.*

"The powerful chairman of the Ways and Means Committee."

• *Actually, this is something of a journalistic tradition and more of a way of avoiding hassle than anything else. Ways and Means Committee chairmen are always referred to as "powerful," or the committee is. Failure to use the word "powerful" in the same sentence as "Ways and Means" is to invite a telephone call from the chairman the next day.*

"Blank said he was studying the issue."

• *What's more, he's going to keep on studying it until it goes away.*

"Blank has had a colorful legislative career."

• *Every time he gets mad at the governor, he introduces a bill to put the Medfly on the endangered species list.*

"Blank is regarded as one of the Legislature's more voluble members."

• *He approaches every problem with an open mouth.*

"Blank comes from a safe district."

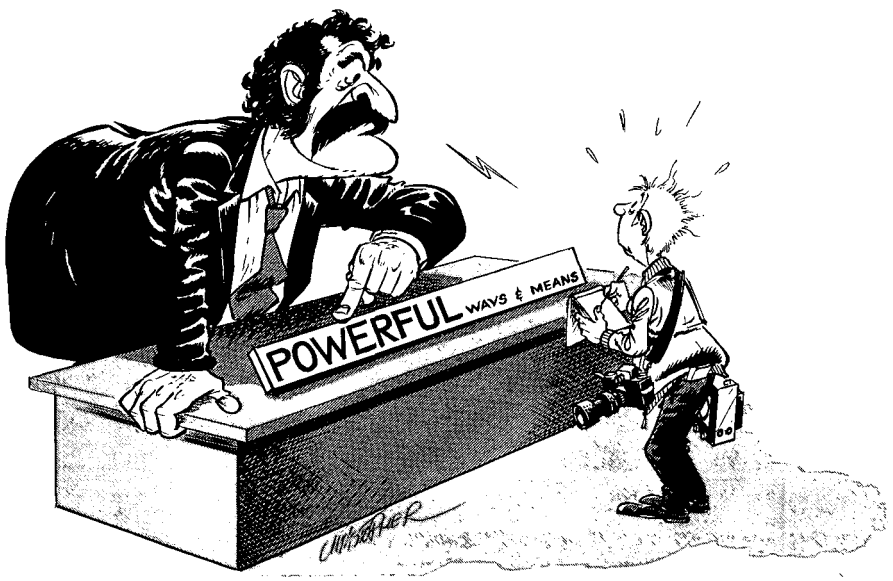
• *Few of his constituents visit Sacramento.*

"Blank said he consistently keeps lobbyists at arm's length."

• *At the end of Blank's arm, consistently, is a hand. Open.*

"This appeared to contradict Blank's earlier statements."

• *Gotcha!*



Charles McFadden is director of university relations at Sacramento State University and a former reporter for the Associated Press.

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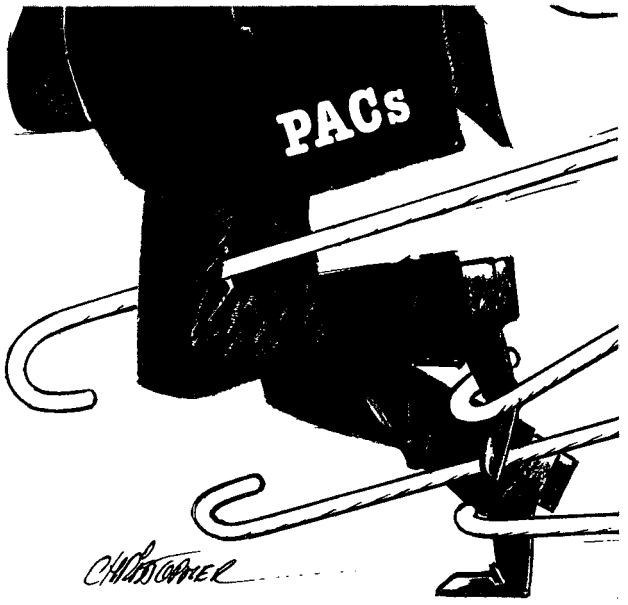

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California Journal *The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics*

Volume XIII, Number 12 December 1982

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation specializing in research and education in government.

The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, Public Issues Index and California Periodicals Index.

California Journal (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840. Copyright 1982 by The California Center. Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

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California
PERSPECTIVE
By Thomas R. Hoeber

A fading tax revolt?

Is the tax revolt which has dominated California government and politics since 1978 finally waning? You couldn't tell it by listening to the candidates in this year's campaigns, but there appear to be some early signs that the public's attitude toward government taxing and spending is beginning to change.

In addition to the more publicized polling he was doing on candidates and ballot measures, Mervin D. Field, California's highly regarded pollster, asked 1,007 persons a series of questions in August about their views regarding state and local finance. The results, published in Field's *California Opinion Index*, are provocative.

Respondents were asked whether they expected the state to have a budget surplus at the end of the fiscal year. In 1980 half expected a surplus and only 16 percent expected a deficit. Two years later the results are reversed: 56 percent expect a deficit and 11 percent expect a surplus. This attitude is significant in view of the fact that what state Treasurer Jesse M. Unruh referred to as an "obscene" state surplus was one of the major motivations behind support for Proposition 13 in 1978.

The public's proposed remedy for dealing with a deficit if it exists has also changed. In 1978 the overwhelmingly clear message was to cut spending — cut the fat out of government. In Field's 1980 poll 60 percent favored reducing spending in the event of a deficit, even if it meant cutting services, and only 30 percent favored increasing taxes. By August 1982, this two-to-one margin has dwindled to only 46 to 40 percent.

Nobody likes taxes, but the degree of distaste is a measure of attitudes toward government. In September 1980, 42 percent of the persons Field surveyed felt the level of state and local taxes was much too high. In 1982 this number has declined to 25 percent, and a corresponding increase of 18 percent in the "about right" category was noted.

Overall, the results of these surveys seem to indicate a softening of what has been a generally negative attitude toward government taxing and spending. And it couldn't come at a better time for the new governor. The state faces a deficit this fiscal year approaching $1 billion unless there is a dramatic economic upswing around Christmas. Perhaps 1983 will see the implementation of a split roll to increase business property taxes or further increases in the "sin" taxes, the two tax areas most favored by the public.

In discussing the findings of his survey, Field urges caution in interpreting the findings. If unemployment remains high and the economy stagnant, voters are still unlikely to express enthusiasm toward elected representatives identified as big spenders and taxers.

Nevertheless, it appears that government is more believable these days — or at least less doubted — and that the hostility between citizens and their government has declined.

Letter from the Publisher

It is a great pleasure to announce the appointment of Robert S. Fairbanks as editor of the *California Journal*, beginning with the next issue.

One of the most respected reporters in the Capitol, Bob has covered California government and politics for 22 years, the last 16 with the *Los Angeles Times* and before that with United Press International.

We look forward to continued growth and improvement in the *Journal* under Bob's leadership.

Thomas R. Hoeber, Publisher

ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

Proof of the pudding

Leo Rennert's story on the new reclamation law (*CJ*, November 1982) contained several erroneous interpretations. His denigration of my water pricing reforms is a case in point. Had Congress left the current law intact, multi-billion dollar subsidies would have grown for decades since the 1902 statute provides unlimited subsidies to all farmers.

It is also curious that Rennert suggests that the new law will undermine the small farm and residency goals of the 1902 Act, while he acknowledges that those same provisions have long been honored more in the breach than in the observance.

As to Rennert's charge that the law is too weak, I suggest that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." If the law is so "weak," why are its supposed beneficiaries creating an uproar over its toughness . . . ?

GEORGE MILLER
Member of Congress,
7th District

Chuckling all the while

I am sure Bill Butcher and Arnold Forde chuckled all the way while they wrote their article on political reform (*CJ*, November 1982).

Some may conclude that such reforms may provide an easier path toward victory on election day. But I doubt that any reforms will damage the win/loss record of political consultants who are tough enough to apply total concentration, creativity and dedication to a 50-plus percent market share on the day of the big poll to their campaigns.

Hard work — in all its manifestations — is the key. And the "mother's milk" to finance it. Whatever reforms are contrived, whichever udder provides the milk — winning will remain everything; losing will remain nothing. I'd bet Butcher and Forde have already worked out the campaign scenarios that will take them to the edge of the reforms they propose — chuckling all the while.

DONALD D. WEDDLE
Vice President
Opinion Research of California

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The Deukmejian dilemma: promises meet reality

By DONALD H. HARRISON

Even if George Deukmejian had been elected by a landslide, carrying with him Republican majorities in the state Senate and Assembly, he would have been hard-pressed to solve such immediate problems as a large and growing state budget deficit, an educational system in disarray, a criminal-justice system which citizens fear more than the criminals, reapportionment, and the inevitable surprise crisis no one anticipates now.

But Deukmejian won by a whisker, the Democrats have firm control of both houses of the Legislature, and the only other Republican to win a statewide office is going to Washington.

Under the circumstances, it is almost unkind even to mention the promises Deukmejian made during the campaign, let alone list them as a possible agenda for his governorship. But George Deukmejian is an experienced practitioner of the art of politics, a realist who is not nearly as doctrinaire as his campaign rhetoric would suggest. Thus it will not surprise those who observed Assemblyman and Senator Deukmejian to see Governor Deukmejian willing to hammer out solutions to some of the state's problems in tough negotiations with the Democratic leadership of the Legislature. Such solutions may incorporate significant elements of the Deukmejian platform.

Deukmejian has another advantage besides his ability as a bargainer: Many Democrats campaigned on the same platform planks that Deukmejian used. How many Democrats campaigned against tax increases, for the death penalty and welfare reform, and for an improved business climate? More than a few.

And so it was on November 4th, two days after his tight victory, that the governor-elect called for a "new era of bipartisanship" in his first news conference. While Mayor Tom Bradley pondered the close election results and finally decided not to seek a recount, Deukmejian was telephoning Democratic legislative leaders to lay the groundwork for their future relations. He also announced that Mike Franchetti, chief deputy attorney general, would become the new director of finance, a move based not so much on Franchetti's grasp of economics as his grasp of legislative realities. As advocate for the attorney general's programs before the Legislature, Franchetti had developed a working relationship and a network of friends.

It was only a matter of hours before Franchetti was hinting that Deukmejian may be forced to compromise on his oft-repeated campaign refrain that he would not seek new taxes to balance the state budget. "There are two parties to this process (the governor and the Legislature)," he said, "and there are some people saying we have to have a tax increase, and they have some influence in this."

Steven Merksamer, the special assistant attorney general who will serve as Deukmejian's chief of staff, voiced similar thoughts: "The budget obviously will be a paramount concern of both the governor and the Legislature. It's our view that the budget can in fact be balanced without additional taxes, but there may be those in the Legislature who have contrary views."

Such post-election rhetoric contrasted with Deukmejian's strong campaign positions. "Believe me," he told the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco in October, "I've heard more than one speech about the need for improving education — and then, in the next breath, people say that we need to raise taxes . . . That's one of the things wrong with government today. Let's quit talking about raising taxes as the first thing that we do. It's always too easy — always too available — just to keep pushing the hard-pressed people of our state into letting the government take still another bite of their income. We need to work on spending correctly

Donald H. Harrison is a free-lance writer in San Diego who covered the gubernatorial election this year for the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.

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what we already have. And we need to set priorities."

Had Deukmejian been swept into office on a Republican tide, what would he have tried to do as governor? His pre-election agenda was clear:

- **Cut those programs** he considered unnecessary — chief among them, the state Coastal Commission.
- **Reduce the cost** of "necessary" programs, for example by having prisoners and welfare recipients put to work.
- **Enact tax breaks** for businesses in return for hiring welfare recipients or investing in technological improvements or expansion.

Deukmejian may indeed put most of those proposals into the legislative hopper. But with the state's fiscal crisis demanding immediate solutions, it is unlikely he will insist on them as the only acceptable answers to the state's fiscal woes. He is more likely to settle for enactment of some of them in return for grudging acceptance of a tax increase.

Last session Democrats unsuccessfully tried to increase the so-called "sin taxes" on cigarettes and alcohol. They also tried to levy California's first oil severance tax — a move that gathered momentum when the Rand Corporation reported that taxing oil at the wellhead would not increase prices at the gasoline pump because the world oil market is so competitive. If Democrats seek to renew those proposals, Deukmejian will face a tough choice because he said flatly in his campaign that he would veto both sin taxes and the oil severance tax. If he follows through, so much for bipartisanship and a balanced budget; if he doesn't, so much for his campaign promises.

Understandably, Franchetti was scrambling to find a way for his boss out of the fiscal dilemma. He arranged to meet with outoing Finance Director Mary Ann Graves to get an exact fix on future state revenue projections. He contacted the Reagan Administration to learn what new programs and revenues might be available to California under Reagan's "New Federalism" proposal. And he tried to focus reporters' attention on a list of "options" compiled last spring by Legislative Analyst William Hamm to guide the Legislature on where cuts could be made, if absolutely necessary.

Will Deukmejian recommend a state hiring freeze? His post-election response was careful: "Since 1978, since Proposition 13 was passed, there has been an increase of over 10,000 state employees on the state payroll," he said. "There is also an increase of over $1.6 billion to the baseline operation of state government since the passage of Proposition 13. We are going to have to bring about a major correction of that direction, and so this is necessarily going to be part of how we approach the entire budgetary process."

Such caution was not so apparent on the campaign trail. While Mayor Bradley never said "never" on tax increases, Deukmejian did frequently. He was also quite specific on these other subjects:

- **Welfare reform.** "Able-bodied (welfare) recipients should be required to obtain a job, including government-provided temporary public assistance work, or participate in meaningful job training programs as a condition to receiving welfare," Deukmejian said in a major address to the City Club of San Diego. To implement such a plan, he called for the consolidation of state welfare programs under one government department and urged county governments to form Private Industry Councils (PICs) to determine what job skills are in greatest demand. "To make a mandatory job program work, however, state government must assist single parents in obtaining day care for their children . . . Participation in day care services will fulfill their work requirement and recipients no longer would be able to cite the unavailability of day care as a reason for non-participation in the work force," he said.

Deukmejian also wants welfare recipients to pay more for their services. "I strongly support the requirement of recipient co-payments as a condition for Medi-Cal benefits," he said. "Recipients should be faced with monetary considerations similar to those faced by persons with private insurance, to discourage unnecessary and expensive overutilization of Medi-Cal benefits. Consideration should be given to raising co-payment requirements to effectively fulfill this objective." Additionally, he said he favors "eliminating less essential (Medi-Cal) benefits and bringing our Medi-Cal package into conformity with health care available to the private sector."

- **Welfare fraud.** Deukmejian called for statewide implementation of an Orange County pilot program under which district attorney investigators are stationed in welfare offices. "When an eligibility worker suspects fraud at the intake level, the investigator is on hand to immediately follow up with a minimum of delay and red tape," he said. "The immediacy of investigation avoids the payment of welfare grant money to fraudulent applicants who, without this early detection program, generally are not discovered until after they already have received substantial amounts of grant money." In Orange County half the cases

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Young George Deukmejian at about age 7

Graduation from Siena College (N.Y.), June, 1949

U.S. Army, Frankfurt, Germany, 1953

referred to investigators resulted in findings of fraud, and savings were $7 million, "roughly 10 times the cost of the program . . . Imagine the tremendous savings that could be achieved by statewide application of the program."

● **Education.** In California's tax-supported colleges and universities, Deukmejian said he supports free tuition for academic courses of study, but "I support charging fees to cover costs associated with non-credit hobby courses." At the grade school level, Deukmejian wants less money for administration and more for classroom instruction. "California students spend less time in the classroom than students in other states," he complained. "In fact, upon graduating from high school, our students have received almost a year less instruction than the national average. I will work to increase instructional time in public classrooms by adding additional days to the school year and time to each school day." He contended more money could be found for the classroom if schools are "relieved of burdensome mandates and paperwork requirements that have built up over the years and have hindered, rather than helped, productivity."

● **Prison workers.** Not only welfare recipients, but inmates would be the subject of "give-them-work" programs, according to the Deukmejian campaign. He wants to require prisoners to pay for their incarceration by laboring at private-industry jobs inside prison walls. The incentive to prisoners, he said, would be to get time off their sentences and to learn skills that could keep them employed on the outside. But with rising unemployment, Deukmejian's prison-worker plan ran into immediate controversy. Bradley dubbed it the "want-a-job, go-to-prison" plan.

● **Local governments.** Deukmejian made two promises during the campaign that could have dramatic impact on local governments: to veto any legislation that mandated programs on local governments without providing corresponding funding to pay for those programs, and to provide local governments with a steady source of funding, so they could anticipate their revenues instead of waiting in suspense as the Legislature determines how to allocate Proposition 13 "bailout funds."

Because of campaign salvos traded between Deukmejian and Bradley, big cities will be particularly attentive to the formula Deukmejian devises for sharing funds with local governments. Bradley made campaign mileage with his claim to have balanced nine consecutive Los Angeles city budgets without resort to new tax sources, and Deukmejian responded that the only reason that was possible was because Bradley went to the state and federal governments for financial aid. Deukmejian also charged that the bailout money received by Los Angeles this fiscal year was more than it was "entitled" to. "They (Los Angeles) had 12 percent of the population; they got 40 percent over the four-year period (since Proposition 13's passage) and this year they got 60 percent of the bailout money for the cities," Deukmejian said. "It should be in keeping with the population. In other words, if the city has 12 percent of the total population, the amount of the bailout should be more in keeping, more in line with that."

Although cities and counties would like their portion of the 6-cent sales tax increased from 1.75 cents to 2.75 cents, with the state's portion dropping from 4.25 cents to 3.25 cents, Deukmejian has not decided what source of revenue would be best to share with local governments, according to Merksamer. Similarly, he said the governor-elect was not wedded to population formulas in determining levels of local assistance. "You have to remember the context in which he said that," Merksamer said. "It was because the mayor was making such a big deal about balancing his budgets."

● **Downzoning.** Another local-government controversy was sparked during the campaign when Deukmejian said he would develop a constitutional amendment "to require regulatory agencies to compensate land owners for substantial losses in the value of their land caused by downzoning or other new regulations which prohibit or limit the use of land originally suitable for housing purposes." Bradley predicted that devastation would result. "It would literally stalemate any zoning action in order to avoid bankruptcy in your cities," he charged. After the election, Merksamer said the downzoning proposal was designed to encourage more housing and conceded, "It makes sense in the abstract, but it may need more work."

● **Business climate.** Basic to Deukmejian's approach

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to the state's fiscal crisis is a strong belief that government regulations unnecessarily hamper business and that without them, businesses would make more money, hire more people and fill the state's coffers with greater volumes of sales and income taxes. For the housing industry, he pledged "legislation to streamline and expedite the regulatory approval processes." The California Environmental Quality Act "must be amended to eliminate review procedures which are duplicative of alternative state or local review practices," he insisted.

• **Agriculture.** For agricultural interests, Deukmejian promised that "one of my first actions will be to change the unfair Agricultural Labor Relations Board. I will appoint a balanced and fair board which understands and appreciates the interests of farmers as well as farm employees, which is open to compromise, and which brings true peace to the fields. Moreover, I will appoint an objective ALRB general counsel who is acceptable and accessible to agriculture. My administration will seek to conform the Agricultural Labor Relations Act with the National Labor Relations Act."

Leslie George Jr. Andrea Gloria George

Deukmejian can fulfill the promise to *"seek* to conform," but there is almost no chance his efforts will succeed, given the enormous influence of the United Farm Workers with the Democratic legislative leadership. (The farm workers' political action committee gave $750,000 in campaign contributions during 1982, with more than half of them going to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and Senate President pro Tem David Roberti for distribution among Democratic legislators. Only the California Medical Association's PAC contributed more campaign funds this year than the UFW.)

• **Pesticides.** "I will not permit California agriculture to become isolated and placed in an unreasonable competitive disadvantage to agriculture in other states and countries," Deukmejian said. "We must have a reasonable and safe pesticide program, but those pesticide regulations which are not statutorily authorized and which are not essential to the protection of the public will be abolished."

• **Environment.** Siding with those who say environmentalism has gone too far, Deukmejian said off-shore oil drilling should be allowed "if adequate steps are taken to ensure that the risks to California's coastline are minimal. Such exploration should take place only in locations where there is sufficient crude oil or natural gas to justify those minimal risks to our environment." Bradley called Deukmejian's policy tantamount to a blanket endorsement of Interior Secretary James Watt's plan to offer offshore oil leases along the entire coastline, even in those areas deemed environmentally sensitive.

The major environmental initiative pledged by Deukmejian was to protect the public from hazardous waste disposal, a position no one seems likely to oppose. "I intend to make protection of the public and the environment from the improper storage, treatment, transportation and disposal of hazardous waste materials an important priority in my administration," he said. "I support development of state policies to reduce dependence on land disposal of hazardous wastes in favor of safer forms of disposal, such as recycling or treatment facilities."

• **Priorities.** "The governor-elect is not one to make across-the-board cuts," Merksamer said after the election. "Any monkey can cut across the board. Leadership is when you set priorities, when you determine what is more important than something else. There is no question that the need to restore the quality of the judiciary is of paramount importance. So there may be areas (in the state budget) that actually are increased." One area may be funding for the staff of the Commission on Judicial Appointments, the three-member panel on which Deukmejian sat as attorney general to screen those judges nominated by the governor for state appellate courts. "The commission currently does not have the staff or the resources to properly evaluate an appointee's qualifications," Deukmejian has said. "Over the years the commission has virtually 'rubber-stamped' all but one of the many judicial appointments it has considered."

• **Appointments.** Deukmejian aroused controversy when he said he would apply philosophical standards to judicial appointments. "Political partisanship will not be a factor in my judicial appointments," he explained. "On the other hand, judicial philosophy will be a significant criterion. My appointees will be men and women who respect the constitutional doctrine of the separation of powers — judges who will practice judicial restraint, not judicial activism, and who will refrain from engaging in judicial 'legislation.' "

There will be no quota system guiding any of his appointments, Deukmejian has said. "I ardently oppose discrimination against any group in our society," he declared, adding that appointments for that reason "should not be based upon social, ethnic, sexual or racial quotas." On that score, Deukmejian will be watched carefully by blacks and liberals, who feel racist tendencies among the electorate were partially responsible for his victory over Bradley — as well as by women who, according to election-day exit polls, voted in large proportions against Deukmejian after he was painted as anti-feminist by Bradley.

• **Abortion.** During the campaign, Deukmejian said he opposed the state's paying for any abortion except those involving rape, incest or jeopardy to the life of the mother. Missing from his list of "acceptable" abortions were those cases in which the child is likely to be born with genetic defects or in which the mother is under the age of 18 and has her parents' consent for an abortion.

• **Water.** Deukmejian supported the Peripheral Canal proposal defeated by voters in June and opposed the water initiative that would have given conservation priority over water importation. Now, says Merksamer, the governor-elect plans to bring together various sides in the controversy to draft a new plan that "will insure an adequate water supply in a way that is fair."

If he is able to do that in a field marked by struggle and disagreement for 80 years, nothing is impossible. Walking on water would be easy by comparison.

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Election analysis

- Slim victory for Deukmejian
- Legislative control to Democrats
- An electoral shift to the left?

By ROBERT S. FAIRBANKS

Californians have selected their political leaders for 1983 and beyond -- and have sent them off to Sacramento and Washington with marching orders that are varied and contradictory. At the top of the ballot, Republicans George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson defeated Democrats Tom Bradley and Jerry Brown. But Democrats did exceptionally well otherwise in the November elections. If nothing else, party liberals should stop cowering now whenever anyone mentions "Law and order" or Howard Jarvis' Proposition 13.

With the final returns in, Democrats had retained control of the Legislature, tightened their hold on the congressional delegation and elected every statewide partisan officer below the rank of governor. Equally important, and perhaps more so, Democrats gained the psychological edge of seeing public opinion swing their way. Despite a defeat for gun control and the loss of two environmental measures (bottles and water), the election results showed an overall move to the left. The reasons for the shift probably include some rejection of Reaganomics as well as the Democrats' successful gerrymander of legislative and congressional districts last year. (In the Assembly, Republicans actually managed to pick up a seat.)

But whatever the reasons, voters not only elected lots of Democrats but approved five high-priced bond issues, retained "Jerry's judges" on the state Supreme Court and rejected a reapportionment measure — jointly sponsored by Republicans and Common Cause — that could have cost Democrats many of their legislative and congressional gains. Then there was the victory for the nuclear freeze. None of this means the forces of law and order or the spirit of 13 are vanquished. But they will probably be challenged more often in the future, and sometimes they will lose.

What about the Republican top-of-the-ticket victories? They concluded two of the nation's most interesting campaigns, in part because of Brown's celebrity status and Bradley's race But the GOP winners are so restricted by political realities that their achievements may have a lot less influence on the course of government than the less-glamorous Democratic gains. True, Wilson's win helped Republicans maintain control of the U.S. Senate, a big advantage for President Reagan and his programs. But if Wilson wants to keep his seat (and the presumption is that he does), he will remember that his victory was more a product of Brown's unique unpopularity than anything Wilson did for himself. Thus Wilson, already cautious, must become even more so as he tries to decide which elements of the president's programs he can afford to support.

Deukmejian is at least equally circumscribed. As governor, he will have all the appointive and administrative powers that the office commands. But he will need more than that to reform agricultural labor laws, give additional tax incentives to business, enact new crackdowns on crime and reach all the other goals he proclaimed during his gubernatorial campaign. To make progress in those directions requires votes in the Democratic-controlled Legislature which will be difficult if not impossible to get. His chances of getting them might have been better had he been able to take office with the million-vote margin that the last Republican governor, Ronald Reagan, enjoyed 16 years ago. But with the lowest plurality of any incoming governor since 1886 (52,295 votes, or .68 percent of the total vote cast), Deukmejian strikes no fear in Democratic hearts.

At the moment, his biggest problem is the state's fiscal condition, including an upcoming budget that could be more than $2 billion in the red. Having said throughout the campaign that higher taxes are unnecessary, he will look either foolish or deceptive if he urges them now.

As usual, new records were set for total campaign spending. According to estimates from the Fair Political Practices Commission, the cost of the 1982 elections, primary and general, will be about $150 million. There is also a consensus that this year's campaigns were the dirtiest ever, primarily because of "hit pieces" and other materials sent through the mails. Some political observers fear that such high spending and low tactics are a threat to democracy — that such practices disillusion voters who then may reject the democratic process itself. But if disillusionment and rejection existed in November, they were not evident in the statistics. The November turnout, as a percentage of all persons eligible to vote, was 47.7 percent, up slightly from the 46.6 percent of 1978 and the 46.4 percent of 1974, the last two gubernatorial years.

Political Party Balance at a Glance

	Former Makeup		New Makeup	
	Dem.	Rep.	Dem.	Rep.
California delegation, House of Representatives	22	21	28	17
State Senate	23	17	25	15
Assembly	49	31	48	32

Robert S. Fairbanks, a Capitol reporter for the Los Angeles Times, *becomes editor of the* California Journal *with the next issue.*

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U.S. SENATE

Jerry Brown tried everything from a mushroom cloud spot on television to a trooping of reporters through his previously inviolate Sacramento apartment. But nothing worked, and moderate Republican Pete Wilson won the U.S. Senate campaign.

Wilson, the 49-year-old mayor of San Diego, had started the year with hopes of running for governor again (he had tried unsuccessfully in 1978) but switched to the Senate race because of better chances there. After winning a crowded primary, he launched a campaign whose most potent weapon was the remarkable unpopularity of California's 44-year-old governor, Jerry Brown. At the time, Brown was already 14 points behind Wilson in the California Poll.

Edmund G. Brown Jr. (D)	3,439,996	45%
Pete Wilson (R)	**3,910,514**	**51%**
Joseph Fuhrig (L)	105,288	1%
David Wald (P)	94,240	1%
Theresa Dietrich (A)	81,886	1%

Brown attacked during late summer and early fall, condemning Wilson, among other things, for suggesting that younger workers contribute less to Social Security. Brown also made hard use of disclosures that Wilson lived rent-free in an apartment supplied by wealthy friends and that Wilson paid no income taxes in 1980 (because, as was later disclosed, of a questionable tax shelter involving a machine that supposedly turned cow dung into methane gas). By early October, Brown was even in the polls and it looked as though he might spurt ahead. But that was the peak of his climb.

Some observers credit Stuart K. Spencer, the political consultant who joined Wilson's campaign in October, for the turnaround. Others contend that Brown stopped himself by using the controversial mushroom cloud television spot that suggested a vote for Wilson was a vote for nuclear war. (Brown supported the nuclear freeze; Wilson did not.) But whatever the reasons, Wilson survived the challenge and won.

Is Brown through after 12 years in state politics — eight as governor and four as secretary of state? "I shall return," he told a post-election news conference, "but not for a while."

GOVERNOR

California voters almost came up with a draw in the gubernatorial race, but Republican George Deukmejian squeaked in. However, lacking any sort of popular mandate (his margin over Democrat Tom Bradley was less than 1 percent) and faced by a Democratically controlled Legislature. Deukmejian, 54, can look to hard times ahead. Some contend that because Deukmejian spent 16 years in the Legislature before winning the attorney general's job in 1978, he will have a rapport with lawmakers that should help him get at least some of what he wants. But Deukmejian is a stubborn man, and he is governor now. Chances are that he will not bow easily to the will of the Democratic majority as he was forced to do so often during his legislative past. Don't expect harmony ahead.

Was race the reason for Bradley's loss? (If elected, the 64-year-old mayor of Los Angeles would have become California's first black governor.) The answer is that race was a factor, but there were others as well. One was Proposition 15, the handgun-control initiative on the ballot. (See succeeding article on propositions.) Another factor was Jerry Brown's unpopularity; much of it rubbed off on Bradley, according to some exit polls. Others said that Bradley's bland campaign helped cause his defeat. California voters like a little excitement, and Bradley gave them none. Still

Tom Bradley (D)	3,721,418	48%
George Deukmejian (R)	**3,773,713**	**49%**
Dan P. Dougherty (L)	79,107	1%
Elizabeth Martinez (P)	68,791	1%
James C. Griffin (A)	54,976	1%

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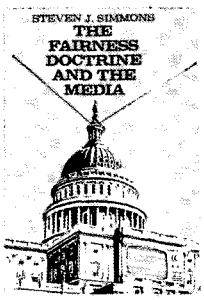

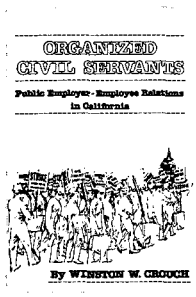

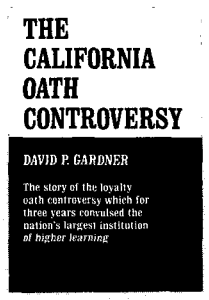
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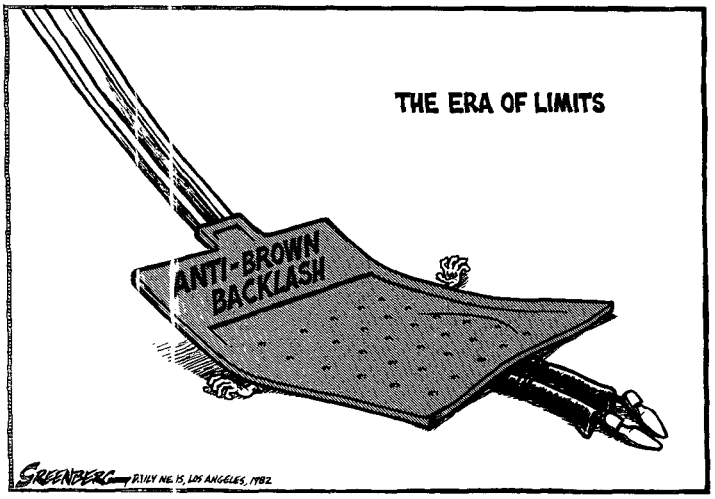

others said that Bradley could have won if Democrats had done a better job of getting out the vote.

Bradley's defeat hardly removes him from politics. He still has three years left in his term as mayor and he could run again against Deukmejian in 1986. Indeed, the most disappointed politicians in the state may be those members of the Los Angeles City Council, headed by Council President Joel Wachs, who were hoping that a Bradley victory would clear the way for an ascension into the mayor's office.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

It's a new California tradition that the governor and lieutenant governor be of different political parties. It happened once in the 19th century, but voters didn't do it again until 1978, when they put Republican Mike Curb a heartbeat away from the governor, Democrat Jerry Brown. Now it's Democrat Leo T. McCarthy of San Francisco as understudy to the Republican governor, George Deukmejian.

For McCarthy, his victory over GOP Assemblywoman

Leo T. McCarthy (D)	**3,933,325**	**53%**
Carol Hallett (R)	3,283,846	44%
John R. Vernon (L)	106,796	1%
Clyde Kuhn (P)	90,531	1%
Houston A. Myers (A)	78,138	1%

Carol Hallett of Atascadero was a long step back toward political center stage. As Assembly speaker in 1980, McCarthy was planning to run for governor or the U.S. Senate in 1982. But a group of colleagues, disliking his puritanism and suspicious that he was raising more money for himself than he was for them, shattered his plans by removing him from the leadership job. (Howard Berman led the charge, but Willie Brown picked up the pieces and is the speaker now.)

Looking for a road back, McCarthy tried for lieutenant governor. Hallett, who was elected GOP floor leader in 1978, was the first woman to head her party in either house. But McCarthy, a liberal, won the endorsement of most women's groups. The two differed on many issues along traditional liberal-conservative lines, but McCarthy attacked also on the issue of integrity, citing Hallett's claim to have voted for a crime bill that was enacted before she came to the Assembly. Since the lieutenant governor assumes gubernatorial power when the governor leaves the state, McCarthy could cause problems for Deukmejian, as Curb sometimes did for Brown. But McCarthy, 52, told a post-election news conference that he would not play games.

SECRETARY OF STATE

Secretary of State March Fong Eu, seeking a third term, faced something more this year than the token Republican opposition she has seen in the past. But even against the earnest efforts of Assemblyman Gordon Duffy of Hanford, she still took more than 60 percent of the vote. Duffy, 57,

March Fong Eu (I-D)	**4,490,190**	**61%**
Gordon Duffy (R)	2,553,914	35%
Martin E. Buerger (L)	149,429	2%
Milton Takei (P)	97,545	1%
Alfred W. Smith (A)	101,207	1%

had quit the Legislature after 18 years, unhappy with the atmosphere created by the hard-line Republican conservatives who took control of the Assembly's GOP minority in the wake of 1978's Proposition 13. However, he said, he wanted to do more than just step out: He would try something new and, if necessary, go down swinging. And so it was. Eu, 55, had the advantage of having more money and being much better known.

CONTROLLER

Democrat Ken Cory had thought of running for governor or the U.S. Senate this year but eventually chose the safer course and sought a third term as controller. As such, he is primarily responsible for writing the state's checks and keeping its books in balance. He makes news from time to

Kenneth Cory (I-D)	**4,167,305**	**57%**
James L. Flournoy (R)	2,692,526	37%
Mary Gingell (L)	119,539	1%
Florence McDonald (P)	180,316	3%
Pat Graham (A)	170,288	2%

time by warning of budget deficits and the dire consequences thereof.

In 1980, Cory tried to put some teeth in his warnings by refusing to meet state bills and payrolls because the Legislature had once again failed to pass a budget on time. But, condemned by state employees and lectured by the courts, he returned to jawboning. His Republican opponent, James L. Flournoy, a Los Angeles lawyer specializing in workers compensation cases, has been running unsuccessfully for various state offices since 1962, including a previous run against Cory in 1974. Flournoy carried only three counties, Inyo, Mono and Orange. Orange County was Cory's home.

TREASURER

Not many people outside the financial community have noticed, but Democrat Jesse Unruh has become increasingly powerful lately as state treasurer. The reason is

Jesse M. Unruh (I-D)	**4,351,692**	**60%**
Donald J. French (R)	2,572,594	35%
Less Antman (L)	167,207	2%
Kevin Akin (P)	126,818	2%
Robert G. Charlton (A)	95,415	1%

revenue bonds, a form of financing being used more and more frequently by state and local governments. Thanks to several new laws, usually supported by Unruh, the treasurer helps decide who may issue such bonds and, more importantly, which underwriting firms will get the lucrative right to buy the bonds from government and resell them on the private market.

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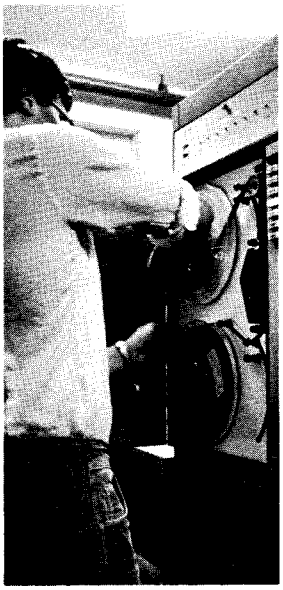

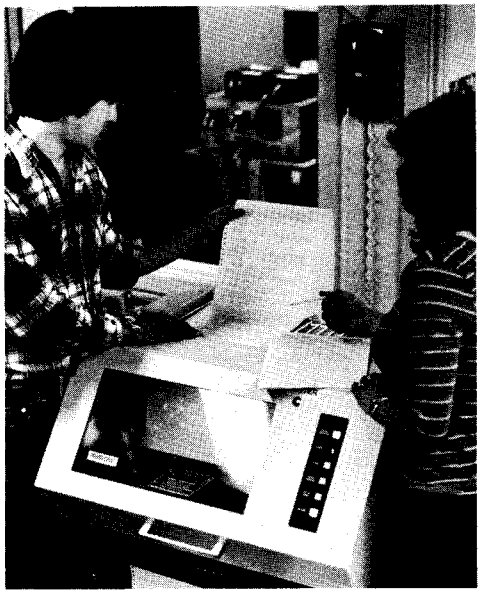

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Unruh's new power has helped generate his new wealth of campaign contributions: about $500,000 since last year, most of it from underwriters and others connected with revenue-bond sales. Unruh's Republican opponent this year, Donald J. French, said he thought it was wrong for the treasurer to take money from people doing business with his office. But Unruh, 60, defended the practice, saying that he could accept campaign funds and still be fair.

In any case, Unruh defeated French to win a third term. French, 35, an employee of a Pasadena development firm, is a virtual unknown, except that he ran against Unruh in 1978 and was beaten decisively. He might have done better this year but was embarrassed by several disclosures, including the fact that his personal finances were directed by a bankruptcy court during much of last year.

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Democrat John Van de Kamp, Los Angeles County district attorney for the past seven years, was an easy winner for attorney general in what could have been a close race. His opponent, Republican George Nicholson, was energetic, tough, a compelling speaker and had shown in the GOP primary last June that he could gather up votes. Furthermore, Van de Kamp was hardly charismatic. At 46, he retains boyish looks and has an undramatic manner.

But when the count was done, Van de Kamp had beaten

John Van de Kamp (D)	**3,946,264**	**54%**
George Nicholson (R)	3,050,214	42%
Bart Lee (L)	161,886	2%
Dan Siegel (F)	175,760	2%

Nicholson by a decisive margin of nearly 900,000 votes. Much of the margin came from a nearly 600,000 vote surplus in Los Angeles County, where the Van de Kamp name is especially well known. (His relatives founded the Van de Kamp bakery and Lawry's restaurants.) But Van de Kamp also was helped by the 41-year-old Nicholson himself. Nicholson's message — that permissive courts are failing to protect society from crime — is not unusual. But his abrasiveness, intensity and sense of outrage generated considerable unease and opposition within the legal community.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

(Non-partisan)

ing test scores and urged statewide proficiency tests before graduation.

Actually, the superintendent has relatively little power over the public schools, most of which is held by the governor, the Legislature and, to a much lesser degree, California's 1,100 local school districts. But the superintendent can

Bill Honig	**3,838,163**	**56%**
Wilson Riles (I)	3,058,377	44%

be an effective lobbyist for the schools, and Honig says he plans to use the office that way. Ironically, Riles was first elected in 1970 after complaining of declining test scores under his predecessor, the late Max Rafferty. And Rafferty had been elected eight years before that on a platform calling for higher scholastic standards and a return to basics in public education.

VAN DE KAMP

COLLIS

HONIG

Voters faced a relatively clear choice in the non-partisan race between state Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson C. Riles and his challenger, Bill Honig. Would money be of more use to the public schools or was it reform? With a victory for Honig, the answer was reform. Riles, seeking his fourth four-year term, had the backing of teacher unions. Honig, a former school superintendent and member of the state Board of Education, countered with a well-financed campaign (about $2 million) that pointed to declin-

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION

Political staff aide Conway Collis of Tarzana, like many others of his kind, has now graduated into elective office. By the narrowest of margins, Democrat Collis, 34, defeated Republican Assemblyman William Ivers for the 1st District seat on the state Board of Equalization. Ivers, 52, sought the seat after being reapportioned out of his La Canada-Flintridge Assembly district.

Collis, who began working for U.S. Senator Alan Cranston upon graduation from law school, initially considered running for the Los Angeles Assembly seat vacated by

DISTRICT 1 (52%D-36%R)		
Conway Collis (I-D)	**797,565**	**47%**
Bill Ivers (R)	779,949	45%
Wayne Nygren (L)	73,746	4%
Andrew Paul Kangas (P)	65,734	4%
DISTRICT 2 (46%D-42%R)		
Edmund J. Kelly (D)	778,952	41%
Ernest J. Dronenburg Jr. (I-R)	**1,012,179**	**53%**
Jack Dean (L)	108,763	6%
DISTRICT 3 (55%D-32%R)		
William M. Bennett (I-D)	**1,040,594**	**53%**
Bob McCarroll (R)	736,423	38%
William Evers (L)	80,413	4%
Tom Condit (P)	95,809	5%
DISTRICT 4 (62%D-28%R)		
Richard Nevins (I-D)	**817,058**	**63%**
Dede Audet (R)	411,485	32%
Lewis McCammon (P)	75,189	6%

Howard Berman. But Gray Davis, Jerry Brown's former chief of staff, wanted that job so Collis chose the Equalization Board, where 1st District incumbent George Reilly was to retire at the end of his term. When illness forced Reilly to leave early, Governor Brown appointed Collis to fill the few remaining months of Reilly's term.

The board, composed of four members elected by district and the state controller, is primarily a tax collecting agency. In the other three districts, incumbents won easily. Third District Democrat William Bennett did so again without benefit of campaign contributions.

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DID RURAL GUN OWNERS DEFEAT BRADLEY?

A mixed bag of messages from those ballot propositions

By ERIC BRAZIL

If, as Emerson said, "consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," then any rational analysis of the California electorate's treatment of the 15 ballot propositions on November 2nd compels the conclusion that this is a big-minded state.

In a virtuoso display of inconsistency, more than 7 million Californians:

- **Agreed to bond** themselves and future generations for a cool $1.5 billion while emphatically rejecting a nickel deposit on beverage containers to clean up the state's highways at no taxpayer expense.
- **Sent a message** to Washington, D.C., that they want the nuclear arms race ended, but said even more emphatically that they want government to stay out of the state's handgun-stockpiling race.
- **Gave the Democratic-controlled Legislature** a second chance to reapportion itself, even though voters delivered a thumping no-confidence vote on the Legislature's work product in the June primary.
- **Voted for the** status quo in water conservation and management, despite a statewide consensus among major water users that current practices are doomed. At the same time, voters agreed to spend $85 million to arrest the decline of Lake Tahoe's water quality.

Big money prevailed, as usual, on the three measures with immediate economic consequences: Propositions 11 (beverage containers), 13 (water conservation) and 15 (handgun control). Just one major ballot measure, the Coastal Zone initiative of 1974, has ever prevailed over multi-million dollar opposition.

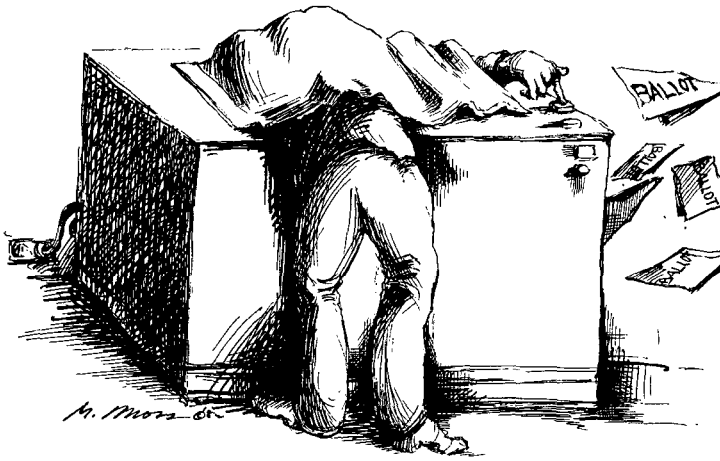
But factors other than economics were at work. The handgun issue, for example, hit a nerve in rural California and provoked a reaction which may have cost Democratic Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley the governorship. And the opponents of Proposition 9, which would have permitted the loan of state textbooks to private schools, prevailed even though they raised a puny $1,049, compared to $501,415 for the proponents, led by the state's Catholic dioceses.

Two surprises

There were two major surprises: the passage of all five bond issues (Propositions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5) and the defeat of Proposition 14, the initiative to take reapportionment out of the hands of the Legislature. Just last June the voters rejected via referendum the Legislature's first plans for redrawing Assembly, Senate and congressional district boundaries. Proposition 14 would have established a 10-member commission to handle reapportionment, taking it out of the Legislature's hands forever. Given voters' unhappiness with the current process, as evidenced in the primary election, why did the November initiative fail?

Both proponents and opponents of Proposition 14 agree that the electorate understood the issue very dimly and that its backers couldn't or wouldn't put up the money for an educational campaign. Polls showed that 48 percent of the voters were undecided two weeks before the election. Given the measure's position on the ballot, between the water and handgun initiatives, the election pros in Sacramento predicted early that more than half of the undecided were going to vote no. They were right: Proposition 14 went down by a 55-45 percent margin.

Even though the measure was a joint Republican Party-Common Cause project, there was no effective campaign for it. Says Walter Zelman, head of Common Cause, "We saw in



the last few weeks that it was in trouble. People didn't know about it. They saw it as another commission. But the Republicans couldn't provide the money because their candidates were making incredible demands on the party."

After raising and spending $305,718 to qualify Proposition 14 for the ballot, the GOP mustered just $88,260 to push it between June and November. Assembly Minority Leader Robert Naylor accepts Zelman's analysis and says that the Republican National Committee turned a deaf ear to pleas for assistance. Democratic leaders, meanwhile, conducted a low-key campaign for a "no" vote, including a recommendation on slate mailers and several appearances on talk shows close to election day.

Voter approval of all five bond issues indicates to some observers the so-called "Spirit of Proposition 13" may be waning. Whether or not this is true, the state will be issuing $500 million in bonds to finance school construction and rehabilitation for fiscally troubled districts (Proposition 1); $280 million for improving overcrowded county jails (Proposition 2); $450 million to keep the Cal Vet low-cost loan program going (Proposition 3); and $200 million to lower interest rates on mortgage loans for first-time home buyers (Proposition 5).

Proposition 4 was a reprise of an identical Lake Tahoe bond issue which narrowly failed in 1980. Proponents, led by the League to Save Lake Tahoe and Democratic state Senator John Garamendi, broadened their base of support by winning endorsements from the AFL-CIO, the California Association of Realtors and other business groups. They also picked up newspaper support in areas which were hos-

Eric Brazil is Sacramento bureau chief for Gannett News Service.

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tile to the bonds the first time around and bought some radio advertising in the Los Angeles area. The result: passage by a 53-47 percent margin.

Passage of the bond issue will enable the state to acquire about 5,000 environmentally sensitive lots in the Tahoe Basin. Most of them have been rendered effectively unbuildable by a variety of state-imposed development restrictions aimed at reducing erosion runoff into the lake.

In terms of big-money opposition, Propositions 11 and 15 were the most important targets. Proposition 11 would have required a 5-cent deposit for most beer and soft drink containers. It was supported by environmentalists, the California Farm Bureau Federation and the United Food and Commercial Workers, AFL-CIO. The bottling and beverage industries and retail grocers opposed it with huge bankrolls, overcoming an early "yes" lead in the polls of nearly 30 points. Supporters were outspent 8-to-1 — $5.6 million to $700,000. The campaign was virtually a re-run of the 1978 anti-smoking initiative which tobacco companies blew away by spending nearly $7 million.

"We couldn't respond to everything," says Matt Kuzins, executive director of Californians Against Waste. "It was very frustrating."

Proposition 15, brainchild of Los Angeles attorney John Phillips and businessman Victor Palmieri, was an initiative to register and freeze the number of handguns in California

Local ballot issues: 'No' to taxes, strikes and shocks

By KERRY DRAGER

Electroshock treatment, hazardous materials and poker parlors were among the local issues facing California voters last month. More routine propositions, especially ones to generate local revenue, were also on many ballots. But in keeping with the spirit of Proposition 13, voters rejected most tax measures.

Here is a sampling of local propositions:

- **Employee strikes.** Proposition A in Los Angeles County pitted labor unions against the Board of Supervisors' three-member conservative bloc, headed by Chairman Pete Schabarum. The hotly debated measure, which passed easily, requires that county employees who engage in a strike or other job action be fired. Voters also voiced strong support for Proposition B, an advisory measure that urges the state Legislature to outlaw strikes by Southern California Rapid Transit District employees.
- **Local taxes.** Residents in six counties voted on a gasoline tax for road work. The 2-cent-per-gallon tax was defeated — resoundingly in most cases — in San Diego, Humboldt, Mendocino, Nevada, El Dorado and Santa Cruz counties.

Fire, police and paramedic measures met heavy voter opposition, especially in the south. In Lynwood (Los Angeles County), a special tax for paramedic services was defeated; in San Marino (Los Angeles County), a measure to increase special assessments for police and fire services went down; and in San Diego County, voters refused a one-time tax assessment for the purchase of five jet turbine sheriff's helicopters.

New or increased transient occupancy taxes also proved unpopular. Bed-tax measures failed in the San Luis Obispo County cities of Grover City, Paso Robles and San Luis Obispo, in the city of Santa Barbara and the county of San Diego. However, an 8 percent hotel tax passed in Alhambra (Los Angeles County), while Mendocino County voters approved a 6 percent campground fee.

- **Rent control.** In Los Angeles, voters rejected a proposed charter amendment that would have prohibited the city from imposing rent control on new apartments. Such a charter amendment, the housing industry contended, would have provided stronger protection than the "rent stabilization ordinance" exemption already in effect, which can be changed at any time by the City Council.

Oakland residents defeated a proposal to set a 5 percent ceiling on rent increases for the first year and to use the Consumer Price Index to decide future rent hikes. It was the second time in two years that Oakland spurned rent control. But in Berkeley, voters approved a tenant-backed measure to elect the city's nine-member rent board, now appointed by City Council members.

- **Medical treatment.** In a landmark case, Berkeley voters passed a measure that bans electroshock treatment — also known as ECT or electroconvulsive therapy — within the city limits. The American Psychiatric Association campaigned against the measure and plans to fight the ban in court.
- **Gun control.** A handgun ban similar to that approved by San Francisco supervisors earlier this year was soundly rejected by the voters of nearby Sunnyvale. The measure would have made possession of a handgun a misdemeanor. Sunnyvale, located in the heart of the Silicon Valley, was reportedly the nation's first city to put a gun ban on the ballot.
- **Utility takeover.** San Francisco's Proposition K, calling for the study of a city buyout of Pacific Gas and Electric Company, was rejected. The opposition drive was said to be one of the largest corporate-financed campaigns in state history. While the utility reportedly spent nearly $400,000 to defeat the measure, backers raised less than $10,000.
- **Police complaints.** San Franciscans approved Proposition A, which creates a citizens' review panel to investigate complaints of police misconduct. The measure was strongly endorsed by the city's large gay community. In exchange for the Police Officers Association remaining neutral on the issue, gay leaders agreed to support measures for police overtime pay (which passed) and improved police pensions (which failed).
- **Miscellaneous.** Solano County voters passed, by more than a 2 to 1 margin, a measure to impose a license tax of up to 10 percent of gross receipts for firms transporting hazardous materials.

While Los Angeles County gained a new city, Agoura Hills, North Coast residents rejected by two votes a proposal to incorporate the tourist-oriented, ocean-front community of Mendocino. The proposal had developed into a growth versus no-growth issue during the campaign.

Voters in Bell Gardens (Los Angeles County) have legalized a new business: poker parlors.

In Calistoga (Napa County), a growth-control proposal failed, while in Tehama County, a pro-development "Landowners' Bill of Rights" passed. However, in Santa Barbara, voters approved a city measure to control development.

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at the April 30th, 1983, level. It was not a "ban," but it absolutely infuriated every gun lover in the state.

After their defeat, supporters of the initiative said that money beat them, but that seems an oversimplification. They raised and spent nearly $2 million — enough to get their message across — even though they were outspent by opponents who raised $5.8 million. The bulk of the "no" money ($3.2 million) came from the National Rifle Association.

Proposition 15 was defeated by a much bigger margin than Proposition 11, even though the opponents' spending edge was on the order of 3 to 1 instead of the 8-to-1 edge that the opponents of 11 enjoyed. The anti-15 forces turned out some 30,000 volunteers, "more than the two major political parties had in the governor's race together," according to Lynn Wessell who headed Citizens Against the Gun Initiative's statewide campaign.

Handgun control was voted down in all but two California counties, San Francisco and Marin. It was obliterated in rural California. Nineteen of 58 counties voted at least 80 percent against it. In Modoc County, where waterfowl, deer and antelope hunting are major industries, 91.9 percent of the electorate voted "no."

Voter turnout in rural counties ran about 10 percent higher than in the state's urban areas, a phenomenon which gives rise to the strong hunch that a lot of people came out of the hills to vote no on 15 — and yes on Deukmejian for governor. The NRA, which claims about 200,000 California members, urged a vote for Deukmejian, who opposed Proposition 15, while Bradley endorsed it.

Pro-gun forces indicated after the election that they're not going to remain on the defensive much longer; they're going on offense. Bill Saracino, executive director of the Gun Owners of California, says that "there may be an effort to pass a constitutional amendment that will put this all behind us once and for all." Although neither "bottle bill" nor gun control supporters have given up hope, it's clear that the Legislature won't touch their issues with a 10-foot pole for years to come.

The opposite is true for water conservation, the issue covered by Proposition 13 which was badly baten. The initiative would have forced California to address the issue of groundwater overdrafting by mandating statewide conservation and groundwater management. But it probably was too complicated for the voters to get a handle on. Agribusiness only had to put up $1.8 million to defeat it, emphasizing the argument that it was bad for the farmer.

Environmentalist proponents of the initiative spent about $650,000, but they had both gubernatorial candidates against them as well as the agribusiness lobby. Significantly, however, Bank of America — a financial bulwark of the grower community — advised farm organizations and water agencies in a strongly worded letter that, while it opposed the initiative, its opposition was a close call and that the next time around, things might be different.

The Legislature is likely to tackle the water conservation-groundwater management issue in 1983 in connection with an effort to provide more water for Southern California via a "through-Delta" facility. Such a facility would be an alternative, using natural channels, to the Peripheral Canal. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown has indicated that he'll be the point man in that effort.

Of all the high visibility propositions on the ballot, only Proposition 12, the nuclear freeze initiative, led from wire to wire in the polls. California was one of eight states to approve a freeze measure on election day, but the results were closest in this state, even though proponents outspent opponents, $2.15 million to less than $10,000.

Proposition 12 simply requires the governor to write a letter to President Reagan and Congress proposing that the United States and the Soviet Union stop nuclear testing, production and deployment of weapons in a verifiable weay. "This issue is going to take off and fly and change politics forever," says businessman Harold Willens, the driving force behind Proposition 12. Willens dismisses the suggestion that, given the disparity in spending, the initiative should have prevailed by a much wider margin, if the issue of halting the nuclear arms race is as popular at the grassroots level as he contends. There was plenty of opposition, and it emanated from the White House, Willens says. The Reagan Administration "did its best to ambush the freeze and kill it forever," even though its efforts don't show up in campaign disclosure reports, he says.

Five propositions in the middle of the ballot — 6 through 10 — attracted little attention, and just one passed. That was Proposition 8, a constitutional amendment permitting local government to borrow against anticipated revenues, including fees and assessments.

PROPOSITIONS

PROPOSITION 1 ($500 million school bond issue)		
For	**3,542,412**	**50.5%**
Against	3,467,405	49.5%
PROPOSITION 2 ($280 million jail construction bonds)		
For	**3,795,846**	**54%**
Against	3,197,057	46%
PROPOSITION 3 ($450 million Cal-Vet loan bonds)		
For	**4,730,610**	**67%**
Against	2,312,343	33%
PROPOSITION 4 ($85 million Tahoe land acquisition bonds)		
For	**3,696,291**	**53%**
Against	3,284,459	47%
PROPOSITION 5 ($200 million first-time homebuyers' bonds)		
For	**3,793,050**	**54%**
Against	3,239,881	46%
PROPOSITION 6 (Public pension-fund investments)		
For	2,589,675	39%
Against	**4,016,147**	**61%**
PROPOSITION 7 (Fire-safety tax exemption)		
For	2,733,339	41%
Against	**3,904,254**	**59%**
PROPOSITION 8 (Government fund-transfer flexibility)		
For	**3,288,767**	**51%**
Against	3,164,789	49%
PROPOSITION 9 (State textbook loans to private schools)		
For	2,757,809	39%
Against	**4,312,591**	**61%**
PROPOSITION 10 (Trial court consolidation)		
For	2,262,453	35%
Against	**4,265,808**	**65%**
PROPOSITION 11 (Beverage container deposit)		
For	3,281,803	44%
Against	**4,162,884**	**56%**
PROPOSITION 12 (Nuclear weapons freeze)		
For	**3,795,732**	**52.5%**
Against	3,439,082	47.5%
PROPOSITION 13 (Water conservation and management)		
For	2,449,513	35%
Against	**4,488,645**	**65%**
PROPOSITION 14 (Reapportionment commission)		
For	2,982,034	45%
Against	**3,604,361**	**55%**
PROPOSITION 15 (Handgun registration and control)		
For	2,776,973	37%
Against	**4,690,734**	**63%**

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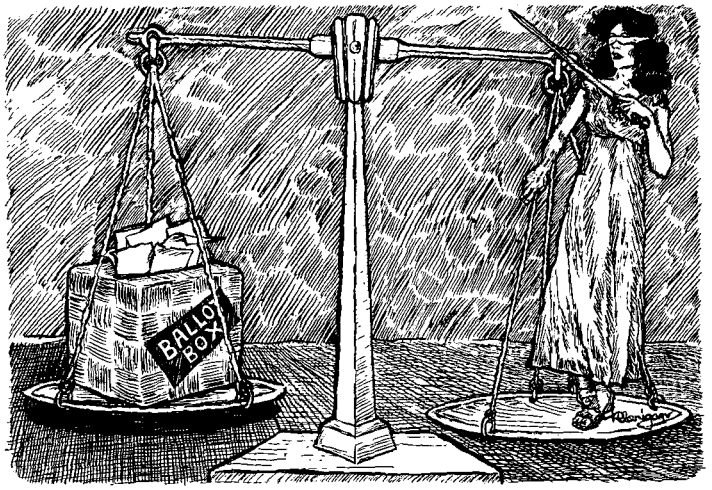
OVERTONES OF RACE, POLITICS AND PUBLIC RESENTMENT

The bittersweet aftermath of confirming 'Jerry's judges'

By BOB EGELKO



Even as they were rejecting Jerry Brown, California voters were approving three of his state Supreme Court justices — Otto Kaus, Allen Broussard and Cruz Reynoso — in the face of an unprecedented partisan challenge. But apart from the final vote, there was little for the defenders of the embattled court to celebrate last month — and much to encourage its attackers.

For all of its fanfare, the campaign against "Jerry's judges" was a sickly effort. The organizers, a group of conservative Republicans, promised to raise $250,000 to $300,000. Instead, they collected, by their own estimate, $175,000, only a little more than two pro-court groups raised from lawyers and a handful of Democratic politicians. The opponents also failed to deliver on a promise to produce the names of Democrats who were joining their campaign, thus opening themselves to attack as a narrow Republican effort.

The opposition also promised an "educational" campaign that would acquaint the public with the work of the faceless judges. Instead, they spent their money on mail to Republicans and one radio commercial, featuring actress June Allyson. It lumped all three judges together, alluded (somewhat inaccurately) to rulings about the death penalty and Proposition 13, and concentrated mainly on Los Angeles County, where each justice wound up getting a higher percentage of the vote than he did statewide.

And yet when the votes were counted, Kaus, Broussard and Reynoso had the smallest majorities of any California Supreme Court justice ever except Chief Justice Rose Bird, who survived a conservative opposition campaign with a 51.7 percent vote in 1978.

Reynoso, a former California Rural Legal Assistance director and appeals court justice who is the Supreme Court's first Hispanic, got 52.6 percent of the vote for retention in office and carried only 24 of the 58 counties. Kaus, a veteran appeals court justice before his appointment, got 55.6 percent, and Broussard, who spent 17 years on Alameda County trial courts and is the second black on the high court, got 56.4 percent.

As evidence that voters were distinguishing among the judicial appointments, the fourth Supreme Court justice on the ballot, Frank Richardson, got 76 percent of the vote. Richardson, the court's last remaining Ronald Reagan appointee, is its most conservative member, and both sides in the campaign over the other three justices favored his retention.

The appellate picture

The results were just as striking in the retention votes for appeals court justices, none of whom was the target of any known campaign. All 36 on the ballot won majorities in their districts, most around 70 percent. But in the 3rd District Court of Appeal, based in Sacramento, three Brown appointees got low majorities — 61 percent each for Frances Newell Carr and Keith Sparks, and 57.8 percent for Coleman Blease. The previous low for an appellate justice was 59 percent for Reynoso on the same court in 1978.

Blease, one of the state's most able judges, is also one of its most liberal, and formerly lobbied for the American Civil Liberties Union. But these facts are unknown to the general public, and about the only plausible explanation anyone has produced for his vote total is the speculation that some voters looked at his first name and wrongly assumed he was black.

Race was clearly a factor in the Reynoso vote, although, as with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's defeat in the governor's race, the extent of its influence will probably never be known. For some voters, Reynoso's name may have only been a tipoff that he was appointed by Brown, the first governor to name significant numbers of women and minorities to the bench.

Another factor of unknown dimensions was the presence on the ballot of Proposition 15, the handgun-control initiative, which is generally believed to have attracted large numbers of rural conservatives to the polls. Yet Proposition 15 may also have indirectly helped the justices, by draining off money from conservative state Senator H.L. Richardson that might otherwise have gone into the court campaign. And despite the unusual interest in this year's court election, more than 2 million Californians who voted on other issues chose not to vote on any of the justices.

Curiously, this was a year in which not one superior or municipal court judge was defeated in an election. But that may not be so much a sign of public satisfaction as a reflection of the fact that Richardson, a chief bankroller of challenges to trial court judges in recent years, was preoccupied with Proposition 15.

Lurking beneath the majority vote for each of the justices is a groundswell of public resentment against the courts — somewhat misinformed, perhaps, about the role of the judiciary, and prone to political manipulation, but potent and not yet displayed at its full potential.

Bob Egelko is a reporter for the Capitol bureau of the Associated Press.

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SUPREME COURT JUSTICES

	Confirm (%)	Reject (%)
Allen E. Broussard	3,102,898 (56)	2,397,462 (44)
Otto M. Kaus	3,081,363 (56)	2,456,334 (44)
Cruz Reynoso	2,919,510 (53)	2,632,165 (47)
Frank K. Richardson	4,319,744 (76)	1,354,866 (24)

There were, not surprisingly, proclamations to the contrary from the pro-court campaign after the election. Harriet Katz of Citizens for a Responsible Judiciary, a spokeswoman for the legal groups that rallied in support of the justices, said the vote showed that anti-court campaigns were "a waste of time, energy and money." She noted that in addition to the formal campaign against the three Brown appointees, statewide Republican candidates — particularly Governor-elect George Deukmejian and Senator-elect Pete Wilson — regularly spoke out against them, providing the opposition with what Katz estimated to be about $1 million worth of free advertising.

That may be so, but it should be noted that Deukmejian and Wilson won their races, bucking a nationwide Democratic tide while making heavy use of the issues of crime and Brown's judges. That lesson is not likely to be lost on Republicans in 1986, when Chief Justice Bird herself will be on the ballot (unless one of the sporadic recall attempts against her succeeds).

Although the system of unopposed, yes-or-no retention elections has been in the state constitution since 1934 — installed by voters in an attempt to remove the court from politics — it took three decades for the first serious opposition campaign to develop.

No justice had ever gotten less than 70 percent of the vote, and the average majority was in the 80s until 1966. A campaign that year was aimed at four justices who had joined in a ruling reinstating a state law banning housing discrimination, which had been repealed by a 1964 initiative. All four were held under 70 percent, and one, Paul Peek, got only 62.1 percent.

There were no opposition campaigns again until 1978, but apparently some voters had picked up the habit of voting "no." The average opposition vote increased from about 10 percent to 26 percent between 1962 and 1974, and the other two Brown appointees on the 1978 ballot with Bird — Wiley Manuel and Frank Newman — got 61 and 65 percent.

Against that background, this might have been the year that a well-financed, well-organized campaign unseated one justice or more. But Richardson, who is unrelated to Justice Richardson, was busy with the handgun initiative. The state Republican Party, like the senator, first toyed with a Bird recall effort, then gave its official endorsement to the campaign against the three justices, the first such partisan endorsement in state history. But the GOP had other things to do with its money and staff.

The campaign was left to a group calling itself Californians for Judicial Reform. Its leader, Santa Barbara County GOP Chairwoman Hazel Richardson (no relation to H.L. or Frank), knew little about the judiciary, although she now says she has learned enough to lead an ongoing "court-watching" group. It included a few Republican personages, such as Assembly Minority Leader Robert Naylor and attorney general candidate George Nicholson.

Differing records

The general strategy was to ignore the individual justices and focus on Brown. Early opinion polls showed that a small negative vote for each justice jumped sharply when a prospective voter was told who had appointed them.

Despite the attempt to portray them as a bloc, in their brief time on the court — 16 months for Kaus and Broussard, seven for Reynoso — they have disagreed often with one another and sometimes with Chief Justice Bird, the court's most consistently liberal member.

Kaus is the most conservative of the three and has been closer to Justice Richardson than to Bird in cases on local government's taxing authority, hypnosis, jailhouse bugging and reapportionment, for example. His appeals court record won praise and a favorable vote from Deukmejian on the Commission on Judicial Appointments — although the attorney general, who voted as a commission member against Broussard and Reynoso, opposed all three when he ran for governor.

Reynoso, whose appeals court record was more liberal, still joined Kaus in the 4-3 majority that upheld June's Proposition 8 crime initiative against a challenge based on the state constitution's single-subject rule. Broussard, who dissented from that ruling, later dismayed the American Civil Liberties Union by writing the opinion that rejected its request for material in secret nationwide police files held by the attorney general.

All three have voted to overturn death sentences in the handful of capital cases they have faced, and Kaus wrote a decision striking down a minor portion of the 1978 death penalty initiative covering murders that were judged "especially heinous, atrocious or cruel." But none of those cases warranted the campaign rhetoric, repeated in the June Allyson commercial, that the justices had "cut the teeth out of the death penalty."

One of the pro-court groups, the Committee for Order and Justice, replied by running a radio ad in which actor Lloyd Bridges said all four justices favored the death penalty — a strained reading of their statements during confirmation hearings that they would uphold the law. Some in the campaign protested that the ad violated the campaign's policy that voters should consider only judges' competence and integrity, not their philosophy. But Sacramento lawyer and business lobbyist Fred Hiestand, whose group sponsored the ad, says that to have conceded the death penalty issue would have amounted to "just rolling over and playing dead."

A concession to politics

Another concession to the political realm was the use of "slate" mailers. The pro-court campaign, which complained of the opposition's partisanship, spent more than $80,000 to help underwrite 3.5 million pieces of slate mail distributed by Democratic groups and endorsing the justices.

The justices themselves took no official part in the campaign, but the outspoken Broussard issued thinly veiled attacks on Deukmejian and Wilson. The morning after the election, the justices appeared, along with Bird, at a Sacramento news conference where they generally agreed that they expect more such campaigns in the future.

Along with Bird, those scheduled to be on the 1986 ballot include Reynoso, who is filling an unexpired term of only four years; Stanley Mosk, the court's senior member, who may retire instead; and the new justice likely to be appointed by Brown in the next few weeks when Associate Justice Frank Newman is expected to resign.

The prospect is for a bitter campaign with high stakes. Judging from the recent past, the campaign will do little to increase public awareness about the courts. It may drive a wedge between leaders of the legal community and some Democratic candidates who may choose to distance themselves from the justices, for fear of being dragged down to defeat. Whatever its outcome, the court confirmation battle four years from now is unlikely to advance the administration of justice in California.

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CONGRESS: the Burton blessing

The results of the 1982 congressional races in California were written a year ago by Representative Phil Burton who crafted a redistricting plan that only a Democratic mother could love. Going into the election, Democrats held a narrow 22-21 margin in seats. When the dust settled, Democrats increased their margin to 28-17, one or two seats better than everyone (but Burton) expected.

After the June primary, the *Journal* identified six races as "torrid," in Districts 1, 5, 11, 15, 30 and 38. In those races both parties were thought to have a chance and major campaign resources were concentrated. In every case the Democrat won. Also, the solidly Republican 43rd District almost went to the Democrats — at least until the next election — because of a bitter GOP intra-party feud.

Phil Burton will have to redraw the district lines again, now that the reapportionment commission which was expected to be created by Proposition 14 will not come into existence. The current districts were rejected in a referendum in June but were ordered into effect for this year's election by the state Supreme Court. At minimum, Burton can be expected to consolidate this year's gains. But who would bet that he won't find a way to add one more Democratic seat to his already masterful design?

T.R.H.

BOSCO

BOXER

LEHMAN

DISTRICT 1 (53%D-33%R)

Bosco (D)	**106,379**	**50%**
Clausen (I-F)	100,500	47%
Redick (L)	6,279	3%

Republican 20-year incumbent Don Clausen was in trouble in this North Coast district from the beginning of the race. Assemblyman Doug Bosco took advantage of reapportionment, the hard-hit local economy and a less vigorous campaign by Clausen to produce the only defeat of an incumbent congressman by a non-incumbent challenger. A vigorous registration drive pushed the district's Democratic registration up 2 percent — most of the margin of victory.

DISTRICT 2 (50%D-38%R)

Newmeyer (D)	80,343	41%
Chappie (I-R)	**114,675**	**58%**
Fegarsky (P)	3,072	2%

This race was never in doubt as Gene Chappie glad-handed his way through this North Central Valley district. Chappie's vote percentage was a little lower, though, than he had hoped.

DISTRICT 3 (58%D-31%R)

Matsui (I-D)	**191,267**	**90%**
Reiger (P)	15,888	7%
Daniel (L)	6,181	3%

With no major-party opponent, popular Bob Matsui could help his friends.

DISTRICT 4 (57%D-30%R)

Fazio (I-D)	**117,131**	**64%**
Canfield (R)	66,016	36%

Vic Fazio turned 40 in October but there was no decline in the incumbent's campaign vigor.

DISTRICT 5 (62%D-22%R)

Burton (I-D)	**101,747**	**58%**
Marks (R)	70,593	40%
Raimondo (L)	2,848	2%

Gerrymander-master Phil Burton was one of the Republicans' chief targets in the nation. Republican state Senator Milton Marks, who attracts votes in San Francisco like a Democrat, was persuaded to test Burton who had weakened his own district in order to create stronger Democratic districts around him. Reapportionment and Burton's personality were Marks' chief issues, but apparently they didn't sell. The Sierra Club, which endorsed candidates for the first time this year and put Phil Burton on the cover of its magazine, claims a major role in Burton's solid victory.

DISTRICT 6 (59%D-25%R)

Boxer (D)	**95,592**	**52%**
McQuaid (R)	81,118	45%
Albertson (P)	2,332	1%
Creighton (L)	3,164	2%

Dennis McQuaid lost to Phil's younger brother John two years ago when the registration was 53-28 for the Democrats. After Phil assembled every spare Democrat in four Bay Area counties into one water-connected district, the Democratic edge was more than enough for Marin County Supervisor Barbara Boxer.

DISTRICT 7 (57%D-31%R)

Miller (I-D)	**126,376**	**67%**
Vallely (R)	56,565	30%
Wells (A)	2,195	1%
Newell (L)	2,736	2%

Starting his fifth term in Congress at age 37, George Miller can expect to build a lot of seniority.

DISTRICT 8 (61%D-25%R)

Dellums (I-D)	**119,436**	**56%**
Hutchison (R)	93,704	44%

This is the second time in a row some political analysts thought Ron Dellums might be in trouble. They might be right. Republican Hutchinson's showing could prompt a serious primary challenge to Dellums in two years.

DISTRICT 9 (60%D-28%R)

Stark (I-D)	**103,073**	**61%**
Kennedy (R)	66,357	39%

Pete Stark of Oakland was scared two years ago, and this time he did his homework. Republican Bill Kennedy of Pleasanton ran an aggressive two-year campaign but couldn't beat the registration and unemployment in the district.

DISTRICT 10 (62%D-24%R)

Edwards (I-D)	**75,922**	**62%**
Herriott (R)	40,687	34%
Kaiser (A)	2,064	2%
Burrow (L)	2,354	2%

Don Edwards rolls smoothly into his eleventh term.

DISTRICT 11 (55%D-32%R)

Lantos (I-D)	**107,035**	**56%**
Royer (R)	75,847	40%
Kudrovzeff (A)	1,236	1%
Branch (P)	1,913	1%
Olson (L)	2,884	2%

Tom Lantos took advantage of incumbency and bushels of money to run away with the race in the district which he took away from Republican Bill Royer by only 3 percent in 1980. This was one of the hottest and most expensive races in the state.

DISTRICT 12 (44%D-43%R)

Lynch (D)	59,985	34%
Zschau (R)	**111,854**	**63%**
White (L)	6,351	3%

Businessman Ed Zschau managed to run and win like an incumbent in this Republican south San Francisco Bay-Central Valley district.

DISTRICT 13 (53%D-33%R)

Mineta (I-D)	**109,785**	**66%**
Kelly (R)	52,119	31%
Hinkle (L)	4,494	3%

Former San Jose Mayor Norm Mineta normally runs way ahead of registration in this nominally competitive district. 1982 was no exception.

DISTRICT 14 (50%D-39%R)

Reed (D)	76,705	37%
Shumway (I-R)	**132,753**	**63%**

Incumbent Republican Norm Shumway showed the good ol' boys a thing or two as he mastered miles and miles of new territory in the state's northeastern 10 counties.

DISTRICT 15 (58%D-33%R)

Coelho (I-D)	**83,091**	**64%**
Bates (R)	44,134	34%
Gerringer (L)	3,098	2%

Madera County Sheriff Ed Bates began airing television commercials for his law-and-order candidacy in June. That's probably when his campaign peaked. In November incumbent Democrat Tony Coelho won by 2-1.

DISTRICT 16 (51%D-34%R)

Panetta (I-D)	**140,602**	**85%**
Arnold (R)	24,068	15%

Leon Panetta had the good fortune to draw a Republican so far to the right that he thinks Ronald Reagan is a socialist. Arnold is the man who managed to provoke President Reagan to tell him to "shut up" at a Republican candidates' briefing.

DISTRICT 17 (55%D-36%R)

Tackett (D)	67,576	46%
Pashayan (I-R)	**79,094**	**54%**

Two-term incumbent Republican Charles (Chip) Pashayan survived one of the half-dozen toughest congressional races in the state,

GUIDE TO TABLES

The election results used in this analysis are from the semi-official canvass conducted by the secretary of state's office. Registration statistics do not include minor parties or those who decline to state an affiliation. Names printed in **bold** characters are the winners.

Abbreviations: I for incumbent, D for Democrat, R for Republican, L for Libertarian, A for American Independent Party, P for Peace and Freedom Party.

In most cases, vote percentages have been rounded off to eliminate decimals. As a result, some percentage totals do not equal 100.

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LEVINE

PACKARD

MARTINEZ

defeating Kern County Supervisor Gene Tackett by a solid margin.

DISTRICT 18 (61%D-30%R)

Lehman (D)	**90,943**	**60%**
Fondse (R)	58,546	38%
Fritz (L)	3,410	2%

The 18th CD is another one of the Burton oddities designed to help Democrats. Two Central Valley concentrations of Democrats in Stockton and Fresno are connected in this district by three sparsely populated mountain-foothill counties. It was perfect for Assemblyman Rick Lehman.

DISTRICT 19 (49%D-37%R)

Frost (D)	65,074	36%
Lagomarsino (I-R)	**110,241**	**61%**
Zekan (P)	1,493	1%
Gordon-McCutchan (L)	4,110	2%

There was no contest for veteran Bob Lagomarsino in this Santa Barbara-Ventura County district.

DISTRICT 20 (48%D-42%R)

Bethea (D)	56,674	32%
Thomas (I-R)	**120,185**	**68%**

Bill Thomas of Bakersfield looks as if he'll be around a while.

DISTRICT 21 (42%D-46%R)

Margolis (D)	45,705	24%
Fiedler (I-R)	**135,808**	**72%**
Wiener (L)	7,748	4%

Bobbi Fiedler is perfectly in tune with her solidly Republican district.

DISTRICT 22 (37%D-54%R)

Goldhammer (D)	45,649	24%
Moorhead (I-R)	**142,504**	**73%**
Gerringer (L)	5,760	3%

Carlos Moorhead doesn't mind representing one of the most Republican districts in the state.

DISTRICT 23 (57%D-33%R)

Beilenson (I-D)	**118,533**	**60%**
Armor (R)	80,299	40%

Tony Beilenson made lemonade out of what he felt was a lemon of a reapportioned district.

DISTRICT 24 (60%D-28%R)

Waxman (I-D)	**86,912**	**65%**
Zerg (R)	41,151	31%
Mandel (L)	5,320	4%

Henry Waxman didn't forget his own district even while he was concentrating on helping friends get elected to Congress.

DISTRICT 25 (70%D-20%R)

Roybal (I-D)	**69,638**	**86%**
Gorham (L)	11,687	14%

Many of their colleagues would like to join the exclusive Bob Matsui/Ed Roybal No-Major-Opponent Club.

DISTRICT 26 (59%D-31%R)

Berman (D)	**95,853**	**60%**
Phillips (R)	64,756	40%

Assemblyman Howard Berman joins the Waxman team in Congress.

DISTRICT 27 (57%D-30%R)

Levine (D)	**106,200**	**60%**
Christensen (R)	65,895	37%
Richardson (L)	6,253	4%

So does Assemblyman Mel Levine.

DISTRICT 28 (76%D-16%R)

Dixon (I-D)	**101,574**	**79%**
Goerz (R)	23,955	19%
Meleney (L)	3,161	2%

Julian Dixon can expect to be in Congress for a long time.

DISTRICT 29 (81%D-14%R)

Hawkins (I-D)	**96,017**	**80%**
Mackaig (R)	24,212	20%

Another of the four senior members of the delegation, Gus Hawkins has the most Democratic seat in the state.

DISTRICT 30 (63%D-28%R)

Martinez (I-D)	**60,033**	**54%**
Rousselot (R)	51,058	46%

Republican John Rousselot was redrawn out of a district by his nemesis Phil Burton. He chose to run in this district rather than take on fellow Republican Carlos Moorhead. Democrat Marty Martinez was elected to the seat in a special election in July to replace George Danielson who was appointed to the Court of Appeal. Despite the substantial Democratic registration edge, Rousselot made the contest interesting. Martinez' 60,000 votes are the fewest for a House winner in California.

DISTRICT 31 (74%D-18%R)

Dymally (I-D)	**85,307**	**72%**
Minturn (R)	32,384	28%

Former Lieutenant Governor Merv Dymally had no fears in this overwhelmingly Democratic district.

DISTRICT 32 (60%D-30%R)

Anderson (I-D)	**83,755**	**58%**
Lungren (R)	56,958	40%
Ruyle (P)	3,429	2%

Another former lieutenant governor, Glenn Anderson, expected a tough race from Brian Lungren, brother of Representative Dan Lungren of the neighboring 42nd District. Indeed, Anderson's victory margin was cut from 35 percent in 1980 to 18 percent, but it wasn't exactly close.

DISTRICT 33 (46%D-45%R)

Servelle (D)	54,764	32%
Dreier (I-R)	**110,344**	**65%**
Noonan (P)	2,185	1%
Franklin (L)	2,215	1%

After a tough primary against fellow incumbent Wayne Grisham, Dave Dreier could coast.

DISTRICT 34 (65%D-27%R)

Torres (D)	**67,569**	**57%**
Jackson (R)	50,180	43%

Former head of the East Los Angeles community organization TELACU, Esteban Torres won a less than spectacular victory over a weak Republican, Paul Jackson. Rousselot might have won had he run in this open district instead of against incumbent Martinez in the 30th.

DISTRICT 35 (44%D-44%R)

Erwin (D)	51,774	32%
Lewis (I-R)	**111,293**	**68%**

Incumbent Republican Jerry Lewis shopped around for a district after reapportionment and seems to have found a home in the 35th.

DISTRICT 36 (58%D-30%R)

Brown (I-D)	**76,096**	**54%**
Stark (R)	64,005	46%

George Brown, the Democratic incumbent, fought off a serious challenge from San Bernardino businessman John Paul Stark. The results almost exactly mirror the 52-44 outcome for the same candidates two years ago, despite a 4 percent registration improvement in the district for Brown.

DISTRICT 37 (47%D-43%R)

Cross (D)	67,551	39%
McCandless (R)	**103,392**	**59%**
Wruble (L)	4,219	2%

Veteran Riverside County Supervisor Al McCandless ran away with what was thought to be a possibly close contest. Ultimately Indio police chief Curtis (Sam) Cross was unable to overcome the district's registration.

DISTRICT 38 (53%D-36%R)

Patterson (I-D)	**72,853**	**52%**
Dohr (R)	60,349	43%
Barr (L)	5,907	4%

Orange County manages frequently to harbor a Democrat or two in its generally Republican waters. Incumbent Democrat Jerry Patterson of Santa Ana was a prime GOP target this year, and Bill Dohr ran an aggressive campaign. But Patterson knows the territory and can look forward to completing 10 years in the House before having to fight for survival again.

DISTRICT 39 (40%D-49%R)

Verges (D)	46,129	26%
Dannemeyer (I-R)	**127,376**	**72%**
Boeheim (P)	3,101	2%

There was no contest for former Democrat Bill Dannemeyer of Fullerton.

DISTRICT 40 (34%D-54%R)

Haseman (D)	51,900	26%
Badham (I-R)	**141,112**	**71%**
Quirk (P)	4,772	2%

Bob Badham lost nearly half of his district in reapportionment but none of his margin.

DISTRICT 41 (40%D-44%R)

Brandenburg (D)	57,793	29%
Lowery (I-R)	**137,212**	**69%**
Hale (L)	4,556	2%

This is Bill Lowery's first re-election after gaining the seat in a tough race in 1980.

DISTRICT 42 (42%D-46%R)

Spellman (D)	57,893	28%
Lungren (I-R)	**139,890**	**69%**
Donohue (P)	5,439	3%

Incumbent Dan Lungren could spend most of his time helping his brother.

DISTRICT 43 (33%D-53%R)

Archer (D)	57,408	32%
Crean (R)	55,511	31%
Packard (R-write-in)	**65,449**	**37%**

The 43rd District of southern Orange and northern San Diego counties may have shown the rest of California how to deal with dirty campaigns. The seat, from which Clair Burgener retired, is one of the most Republican in the state. The Republican primary winner in June was Johnnie R. Crean, a wealthy mobilehome dealer from San Juan Capistrano.

He defeated his 17 primary opponents with a negative campaign run by the Butcher-Forde campaign organization. Republicans were so upset that they united behind a write-in campaign on behalf of runner-up Mayor Ron Packard of Carlsbad. Thus the stage was set for a possible Democratic victory, similar to the 1976 Assembly victory by Ron Cordova under similar circumstances. But the Republican registration in this district is so solid it is possible for two Republicans to out-poll one Democrat, and that's exactly what happened. Despite an endorsement by President Reagan, Crean came in third behind Packard and Democrat Pat Archer of Escondido.

DISTRICT 44 (57%D-28%R)

Bates (D)	**77,339**	**65%**
Gissendanner (R)	37,637	32%
Conole (L)	3,824	3%

San Diego County is an area of surprises, so Supervisor Jim Bates had to run scared even though the district was designed for a Democrat.

DISTRICT 45 (43%D-43%R)

Hill (D)	49,428	29%
Hunter (I-R)	**115,414**	**69%**
Sanders (L)	3,763	2%

Duncan Hunter knocked off Democratic incumbent Lionel Van Deerlin two years ago and got a safe Republican district out of reapportionment.

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SENATE: a Democratic future

The Democrats did better than expected in the state Senate, picking up two seats where they would have been content to stay even. They now hold a 23-17 margin.

The result almost assures Democratic control for years to come. There had been hope among Republicans of capturing control of the Upper House, if not this time then in two years. Now Democrats would have to lose four of the nine Democratic seats up in two years and Republicans would have to hold all of their 11 seats to gain control — an unlikely event, especially if the pending reapportionment strengthens incumbents. T.R.H.

DISTRICT 2 (56%D-29%R)

Keene (I-D)	**120,842**	**59%**
Maher (R)	78,800	39%
Garth (L)	5,128	2%

Incumbent Democrat Barry Keene is an energetic campaigner who was able to beat his registration, despite an active campaign by Vacaville businessman Bill Maher.

DISTRICT 4 (52%D-36%R)

Zeff (D)	83,880	36%
Nielsen (I-R)	**144,008**	**61%**
Burnside (L)	7,250	3%

Jim Nielsen edged incumbent Democrat John Dunlap four years ago and has assiduously worked the vineyards since then. He is well in tune with the voters of his district outside of Davis.

DISTRICT 6 (58%D-30%R)

Greene (D)	**133,199**	**53%**
Doolittle (I-R)	111,289	45%
Sawyer (P)	5,685	2%

One of the hottest and most expensive campaigns in the state was waged between Richardson protégé John Doolittle and Assembly dean Leroy Greene. Doolittle could only partially claim the incumbent title because reapportionment left him with a district number from Santa Clara County but no seat. He chose to run in the new 6th District but will serve out his remaining two-year term in the old 3rd District despite his loss this year. The campaign was characterized by last-minute hit pieces, charges and countercharges. Ultimately it seems Greene's long tenure in Sacramento and the solid registration edge defeated Doolittle.

DISTRICT 8 (63%D-23%R)

Foran (I-D)	**123,231**	**73%**
Guth (R)	39,471	23%
Mayakis (L)	6,123	4%

John Francis Foran has completed 20 years of state legislative service and shows no signs of slowing up.

DISTRICT 10 (58%D-29%R)

Lockyer (D)	**104,493**	**58%**
Marguth (R)	75,808	42%

The election to replace John Holmdahl, who was appointed to the bench, would normally be a straightforward choice among Democrats in this East Bay district. Assemblyman Bill Lockyer had all the advantages going in, but Gib Marguth, assemblyman from Livermore, is popular and articulate. He lost his seat in reapportionment and took a longshot at this Senate seat, but the miracle failed to materialize.

DISTRICT 12 (55%D-33%R)

McCorquodale (D)	**76,637**	**49%**
O'Keefe (I-R)	72,557	46%
Wilson (L)	8,415	5%

Incumbent Republican Senator Dan O'Keefe lost his district in reapportionment and moved into the new 12th District which combines the Valley county of Stanislaus with the Bay Area's Santa Clara County. The district seemed designed for Assemblyman Alister McAlister who decided instead to stay in the Assembly. Santa Clara County Supervisor Dan McCorquodale ran an excellent campaign; that, combined with some adverse publicity for O'Keefe, delivered a narrow victory to the Democrats in this torrid race. This is one of the few races in the state where a third-party candidate may have influenced the outcome.

DISTRICT 14 (53%D-36%R)

Maddy (I-R)	**127,049**

The registration says no; the voters say yes. All Ken Maddy has to worry about is finding a statewide office for his considerable talents.

DISTRICT 16 (58%D-33%R)

Stiern (I-D)	**92,992**	**56%**
Gutcher (R)	74,622	44%

What do the farmers of Kings County have in common with the urban dwellers of Pasadena, some 175 miles away? They share the same senator after the 1981 reapportionment. Senate dean Walter Stiern's district was strengthened and he was able to prevail against a well-financed effort by the Republicans, represented in the person of businesswoman Ann Gutcher from Bakersfield.

DISTRICT 18 (50%D-37%R)

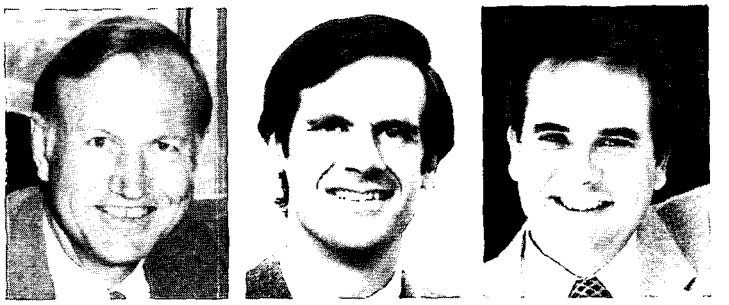
Hart (D)	**106,816**	**51%**
Imbrecht (R)	97,431	47%
Driscoll (L)	3,461	2%

A 50 percent Democratic district is normally luxurious for a Republican, but the gold coast of central California is heavily environmentalist and politically independent. The seat became vacant when Democrat Omer Rains sought election as attorney general. This was a dream race for a state which often must select the lesser of two evils: Whatever the outcome in the 18th District, a well-respected former assemblyman would win. Perhaps the decisive event of the campaign was the loss of the California Teachers Association's endorsement by Democrat Gary Hart who is one of the Legislature's education experts. It turned out to be a blessing in disguise as the massive CTA support for Republican Charles Imbrecht may have caused a backlash among the voters.

DISTRICT 20 (59%D-31%R)

Robbins (I-D)	**84,405**	**52%**
Michael (R)	64,724	40%
Hill (P)	4,565	3%
Pillsbury-Foster (L)	7,892	5%

Smooth Alan Robbins slipped past any voter reaction to his much-publicized sex-charges trial in Sacramento and rolled up a solid re-election victory. However, his margin was down nearly 29 percentage points from his landslide four years ago.



McCORQUODALE HART LOCKYER

DISTRICT 22 (60%D-29%R)

Rosenthal (D)	**143,934**	**64%**
Robinson (R)	71,982	32%
Kaskus (L)	9,708	4%

In Waxman-Berman land these matters are settled well in advance of the election. Herschel Rosenthal was the beneficiary.

DISTRICT 24 (69%D-21%R)

Torres (D)	**56,609**	**72%**
Marsh (R)	19,805	25%
Malmberg (L)	1,851	2%

Assemblyman Art Torres won this seat as a practical matter when he defeated incumbent Senator Alex Garcia in the primary fight in this Latino East Los Angeles district.

DISTRICT 26 (65%D-26%R)

Montoya (I-D)	**89,833**	**69%**
Chow (R)	39,520	31%

This is another district where the primary is the whole ball game. All Joe Montoya has to worry about is redistricting.

DISTRICT 28 (75%D-17%R)

Watson (I-D)	**130,343**	**75%**
Wright (R)	44,195	25%

When you represent the most Democratic district in the Senate, you can worry more about your friends than yourself — which is what Diane Watson did.

DISTRICT 30 (68%D-22%R)

Dills (I-D)	**87,557**	**71%**
McMurray (R)	32,933	26%
Tomlinson (P)	3,696	3%

Incumbent Senator Ralph Dills, whose Sacramento service dates from the 1930s rolls up another solid win.

DISTRICT 32 (51%D-37%R)

Barbaro (D)	65,891	46%
Royce (R)	**76,599**	**54%**

Identified early on as one of the four hottest Senate races, this Orange County campaign went down to the wire. This is the same general area represented by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson and Representative Jerry Patterson, both of whom won re-election. But both of those districts have a 3 or 4 percent better registration edge for a Democrat. Conservative GOP businessman Edward Royce outcampaigned attorney Frank Barbaro in what became a very bitter contest.

DISTRICT 34 (57%D-31%R)

Ayala (I-D)	**101,168**	**67%**
Kurtz (R)	49,982	33%

Ruben Ayala's biggest concerns are the state's water problems, not a little thing like re-election.

DISTRICT 36 (50%D-38%R)

Presley (I-D)	**149,475**

Democrat Bob Presley knows how to please the voters in this marginal district

DISTRICT 38 (37%D-47%R)

Kripke (D)	65,624	37%
Craven (I-R)	**107,194**	**60%**
Rider (L)	5,079	3%

This is the most Republican Senate district in the state, so it's no problem for Bill Craven.

DISTRICT 40 (56%D-30%R)

Deddeh (D)	**102,194**	**74%**
Watson (R)	35,243	26%

This district was vacated by retiring Senator Jim Mills. Wadie Deddeh has been patiently waiting for the opening.

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ASSEMBLY: Willie Brown's team

California's leadership for 1983 in the Assembly is still dominated by the Democrats. They lost only one seat to the Republicans and retained a comfortable 48-32 margin, with two to three more Democratic seats than had been expected. Speaker Willie Brown has firmly consolidated his control over the lower house with heavy contributions of financial and staff resources to his would-be caucus members.

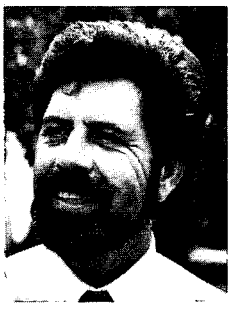
The freshman class includes at least three persons with backgrounds that will make them stand out among their colleagues. Campaign for Economic Democracy leader Tom Hayden was an issue in many races because of his so-called radical background and alternative political base. Gray Davis, Governor Jerry Brown's former chief of staff, is familiar in the Capitol hallways. And Sacramento Mayor Phil Isenberg, a former Willie Brown staffer, can be expected to be very close to the speaker from day one.

Women increased their share of Assembly seats by two to a total of 12. Newcomers Gloria Molina, Doris Allen, Sunny Mojonnier and Lucy Killea will replace Carol Hallett who ran for lieutenant governor and Marilyn Ryan who lost her seat when reapportionment placed her in the same seat as Gerald Felando. The number of blacks and Latinos remains unchanged.

T.R.H.

CONNELLY

ISENBERG



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DISTRICT 1 (52%D-37%R)

Drake (D)	35,520	30%
Statham (I-R)	**79,889**	**68%**
Misso (P)	3,016	2%

Incumbent Republican Stan Statham owns this sprawling Northern California district.

DISTRICT 2 (54%D-30%R)

Hauser (D)	**59,809**	**51%**
Partain (R)	54,155	46%
Gould (L)	3,721	3%

When Doug Bosco abandoned this seat to run for Congress, a battle was inevitable. Both parties brought major resources to bear in this marginal district. Ultimately Democrat Dan Hauser, former mayor of Arcata, pulled out a victory over Jerry Partain, a forestry professor at Humboldt State.

DISTRICT 3 (47%D-40%R)

Miles (D)	45,011	42%
Herger (I-R)	**62,961**	**58%**

Incumbent Wally Herger fits this district like a holster; even nice-guy Larry Miles couldn't shake up the Republican.

DISTRICT 4 (58%D-28%R)

Hannigan (I-D)	**64,473**	**67%**
Manfredi (R)	27,796	29%
MacKenzie (P)	2,064	2%
Moberg (L)	1,857	2%

Democrat Tom Hannigan runs well ahead of registration and can spend time helping his friends.

DISTRICT 5 (54%D-35%R)

Moorhead (I-D)	**64,750**	**55%**
Grenz (R)	48,164	41%
Phelps (L)	4,475	4%

Another of the most heavily contested races in the state pitted Assemblywoman Jean Moorhead against Republican Peggy Grenz. What made this race unpredictable was the fact that Moorhead switched parties shortly after being re-elected as a Republican two years ago. Republicans were outraged and fielded real estate agent and former Moorhead campaign manager Grenz to exact retribution. But Moorhead is popular, and party doesn't seem to matter too much in the 5th District.

DISTRICT 6 (58%D-31%R)

Connelly (D)	**77,034**	**64%**
Green (R)	39,793	33%
Dorn (P)	4,030	3%

Sacramento City Councilman Lloyd Connelly is a consummate campaigner who manages to hide enormous political skill behind an "aw-shucks" image. Carmichael businessman Bill Green's name caused confusion with Leroy Greene who abandoned this seat to run for the Senate, but that did not help much. Connelly can now hold this seat as long as he wants.

DISTRICT 7 (53%D-35%R)

Waters (I-D)	**84,116**	**70%**
Bailey (R)	36,830	30%

Incumbent Norm Waters jes' ambles along in this Gold Country district.

DISTRICT 8 (52%D-37%R)

Gentile (D)	47,795	40%
Sebastiani (I-R)	**71,220**	**60%**

Little old winemaker Don Sebastiani can do whatever is necessary to hold this seat.

DISTRICT 9 (49%D-34%R)

Chignell (D)	54,514	45%
Filante (I-R)	**66,666**	**55%**

This was one of the state's hotter races; Democrats thought they had a chance to knock off an incumbent. But Dr. Bill Filante from Marin County won solid re-election in his third tough race for this seat. This time he defeated Paul Chignell, a San Francisco police inspector.

DISTRICT 10 (60%D-31%R)

Isenberg (D)	**64,748**	**60%**
Azvedo (R)	44,107	40%

Sacramento Mayor Phil Isenberg took no chances in this race, swamping Republican businesswoman Ingrid Azvedo. Isenberg can jump to the head of the large freshman class because of his close friendship with Speaker Willie Brown who drew this district to help Isenberg.

DISTRICT 11 (66%D-23%R)

Campbell (I-D)	**78,233**	**85%**
Garner (A)	7,719	8%
LaZare (L)	6,443	7%

It's tough to lose when you have no major-party opponent.

DISTRICT 12 (61%D-24%R)

Bates (I-D)	**93,813**	**73%**
Thomas (R)	30,800	24%
Mar (P)	4,193	3%

This East Bay district is safe for Tom Bates or any other Democrat.

DISTRICT 13 (72%D-17%R)

Harris (I-D)	**54,237**	

Ditto for Elihu Harris, as all potential opponents realized.

DISTRICT 14 (64%D-25%R)

Klehs (D)	**51,084**	**55%**
Duncan (R)	41,146	45%

Those who wondered why Republicans would try to make a contest of this district need only compare the results to the registration. Republican community college trustee Ann Duncan managed to run 20 points ahead of her registration and at least make a respectable showing in this solidly Democratic district. John Klehs should be solid now for years to come.

DISTRICT 15 (39%D-49%R)

Kovar (D)	40,432	34%
Baker (I-R)	**78,041**	**66%**

Incumbent Bill Baker of Danville enjoys a safe Republican district, thanks to reapportionment.

DISTRICT 16 (67%D-15%R)

Agnos (I-D)	**60,927**	**82%**
Bloyer (R)	13,697	18%

Art Agnos spent his time this fall writing hit pieces for Democrats he was helping.

DISTRICT 17 (61%D-20%R)

Brown (I-D)	**69,424**	**67%**
Crary (R)	27,234	26%
Zaharakis (P)	2,917	3%
Hoy (L)	4,024	4%

Meanwhile, Willie Brown raised the money to mail the pieces Agnos wrote.

DISTRICT 18 (57%D-28%R)

McAlister (I-D)	**50,977**	**67%**
Thompson (R)	22,159	29%
Webster (L)	3,394	4%

Short of a major redistricting, all Alister McAlister has to decide is whether he wants to continue getting re-elected.

DISTRICT 19 (62%D-25%R)

Papan (I-D)	**55,455**	**64%**
Kelting (R)	28,703	33%
Pickens (L)	3,001	3%

Assembly Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan had his biggest challenge two years ago, but reapportionment improved his district.

DISTRICT 20 (46%D-42%R)

J. Smith (D)	33,890	31%
Naylor (I-R)	**71,151**	**64%**
Castronovo (A)	1,527	1%
D. Smith (L)	4,108	4%

Republican Bob Naylor focused his attention on helping friends who will re-elect him minority floor leader.

DISTRICT 21 (53%D-31%R)

Sher (I-D)	**63,695**	**69%**
Parkinson (R)	25,520	28%
DeSio (P)	1,457	1%
Fridley (L)	2,286	2%

Bryon Sher could be tested some day but not this year. He sailed through his first re-election with ease.

DISTRICT 22 (43%D-43%R)

Konnyu (I-R)	**65,818**	**59%**
Sutton (D)	41,028	37%
Smith (L)	4,463	4%

Democratic write-in nominee Marge Sutton ran an active campaign but incumbent Ernie Konnyu was never in trouble in this heavily Republican Santa Clara district.

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DISTRICT 23 (63%D-24%R)

Vasconcellos (I-D)	**48,200**	**69%**
Fowler (R)	19,356	28%
Justi (L)	2,644	4%

Vasco gets stronger with each re-election. This time the Republicans did not target him.

DISTRICT 24 (56%D-30%R)

Cortese (I-D)	**50,804**	**64%**
Sandoval (R)	25,545	32%
Agogino (L)	3,518	4%

This was Democratic Dominic Cortese's first re-election and he had no difficulty with teacher Jack Sandoval.

DISTRICT 25 (56%D-33%R)

Areias (D)	**48,645**	**64%**
Norris (R)	25,351	33%
Hinkle (L)	1,954	3%

This new district created by reapportionment in Merced, San Benito, south Santa Clara and northern Monterey counties could have been competitive. But Democrat Rusty Areias, a dairy farmer from Los Banos, is a charismatic and energetic campaigner who swept away potential opposition.

DISTRICT 26 (58%D-32%R)

Johnston (I-D)	**56,058**	**65%**
Carter (R)	28,016	32%
Horner (L)	2,438	3%

Incumbent Democrat Pat Johnston first lost, then finally won this seat on a recount. He was entitled to an easy race this time. Perennial Republican Doug Carter ran a clean campaign with a clear outcome.

DISTRICT 27 (56%D-35%R)

Condit (D)	**48,921**	**67%**
Nyegaard (R-write-in)	23,963	33%

This Central Valley district vacated by retiring Democrat John Thurman was competitive for a Republican only with tons of money and a weak Democrat. It turned out George (Star Wars) Lucas' sister Kate Nyegaard had neither, and Democrat Gary Condit won easily.

DISTRICT 28 (51%D-32%R)

Farr (I-D)	**77,468**	**71%**
Cost (R)	31,365	29%

Hard-working freshman Assemblyman Sam Farr has earned himself solid backing from what would ordinarily appear to be a marginal district for a Democrat. He ran farther ahead of his registration than any Democrat in a contested race.

DISTRICT 29 (43%D-44%R)

Kupper (D)	40,096	40%
Seastrand (R)	**60,889**	**60%**

This seat was vacated by Carol Hallett to run for lieutenant governor. Conservative Eric Seastrand had no primary opposition for the nomination in this Republican district.

DISTRICT 30 (62%D-29%R)

Costa (I-D)	**50,862**

Fresno Democrat Jim Costa takes a third term without opposition.

DISTRICT 31 (60%D-32%R)

Bronzan (D)	**50,545**	**60%**
Slinkard (R	31,373	37%
Johnson (L)	2,720	3%

It was thought this would be one of the closest races in the state despite the registration. After all this is the area Republican Senator Ken Maddy does so well in. But Maddy aide Jo-Ann Slinkard was unable to match Supervisor Bruce Bronzan who will take over the seat Rick Lehman abandoned for Congress.

DISTRICT 32 (48%D-43%R)

Gould (D)	37,312	38%
Jones (R)	**59,784**	**62%**

Republican party activist Bill Jones had no difficulty taking over the seat left by Gordon Duffy who tried for secretary of state.

DISTRICT 33 (63%D-29%R)

Means (D)	37,064	49%
Rogers (I-R)	**38,799**	**51%**

This was identified early on as one of the 10 most competitive races in the Assembly. It turned out to be a 1,700-vote cliff hanger. Democrats redrew the district lines to make life miserable for Republican Don Rogers of Bakersfield but he beat his registration by a whopping 22 percent to defeat his Democratic challenger, City Councilman John Means. Rogers can take consolation from the fact that there don't appear to be any more Democrats available within 100 miles to make his district tougher after the next redistricting.

DISTRICT 34 (47%D-42%R)

Wyman (I-R)	**83,037**

Republican Phil Wyman ended up without an opponent since his district was given all the Kern County Republicans in an effort to weaken Rogers.

DISTRICT 35 (51%D-34%R)

O'Connell (D)	**51,078**	**51%**
Firestone (R)	49,631	49%

Wealthy Santa Barbara Republican Brooks Firestone was a heavy favorite to join his wine-making colleague Don Sebastiani in the Assembly. But Firestone ran an inept campaign and blew a big lead in pre-election polls to Jack O'Connell, an aide to Senator Omer Rains. Underdog O'Connell squeaked out a victory for the seat vacated by Gary Hart.

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DISTRICT 36 (43%D-45%R)

Henson (D)	47,205	44%
McClintock (R)	**59,425**	**56%**

Former Ventura Mayor Harriet Henson, wife of a judge who formerly represented this area in the Assembly, made a close contest of this race. Ultimately, though, Republican Tom McClintock, an aide to Senator Ed Davis, prevailed.

DISTRICT 37 (44%D-45%R)

Stine (D)	37,767	39%
Wright (I-R)	**54,534**	**56%**
Downes (L)	5,221	5%

Some pundits thought freshman Assemblywoman Cathie Wright was in trouble, because of a campaign-law violation and a $5,000 fine. But Wright ran an aggressive campaign and overcame her difficulties.

DISTRICT 38 (46%D-44%R)

Afriat (D)	45,200	42%
LaFollette (I-R)	**57,340**	**53%**
Stevenson (L)	5,550	5%

The numbers were not to be denied in this overwhelmingly Republican district. Incumbent Marian LaFollette and her Democratic opponent, Steve Afriat, have campaigned continuously since he came within 800 votes of defeating her two years ago. Unless she is hurt by redistricting, LaFollette should have an easier time in the future.

DISTRICT 39 (59%D-31%R)

Katz (I-D)	**42,797**	**57%**
Davis (R)	29,203	39%
Rose (P)	2,596	4%

Richard Katz, a member of the Waxman-Berman organization, has demonstrated the capacity to go places in the years to come. Katz overcame a last-minute Republican campaign against him.

DISTRICT 40 (58%D-31%R)

Bane (I-D)	**64,129**	**72%**
Shinkman (R)	25,325	28%

Tom Bane easily won re-election and is now the third most senior member of the Assembly, behind Willie Brown and John Vasconcellos.

DISTRICT 41 (41%D-51%R)

Nolan (I-R)	**85,285**

Conservative Republican Pat Nolan of Glendale is another opponent-less soul.

DISTRICT 42 (40%D-51%R)

Smith (D)	33,738	31%
Mountjoy (I-R)	**73,421**	**69%**

Republican Richard Mountjoy of Monrovia could coast in one of the Assembly's most Republican districts.

DISTRICT 43 (56%D-33%R)

Davis (D)	**75,299**	**64%**
Sollenberger (R)	43,255	36%

Once Governor Brown's former chief of staff Gray Davis lined up this seat, the outcome was a foregone conclusion. Davis will stand out in a star-studded freshman class.

DISTRICT 44 (59%D-29%R)

Hayden (D)	**64,373**	**53%**
Hawkins (R)	53,389	44%
Hampton (P)	1,737	1%
Wolford (L)	2,296	2%

This "Hollywood Wars" race produced the most expensive Assembly campaign in history and the best-known freshman legislator in California: Tom Hayden, whose radical past and movie-star spouse will be the focus of much attention. Republicans all over the state ran against the party of Hayden and Jane Fonda. Meanwhile, businessman Bill Hawkins had to run against the real Tom Hayden and the Fonda money. The result was a solid win for the head of the Campaign for Economic Democracy. The race was expected to be closer.

DISTRICT 45 (61%D-27%R)

Margolin (D)	**58,603**	**64%**
McIntosh (R)	27,049	29%
Feigin (P)	2,667	3%
Brown (L)	3,625	4%

Waxman aide Burt Margolin won this race in the tough primary.

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DISTRICT 46 (59%D-27%R)

Roos (I-D)	**32,121**	**69%**
Collins (R)	12,898	28%
Tate (L)	1,702	3%

Mike Roos can be concerned about his role as Democratic floor leader in Sacramento rather than re-election in Los Angeles.

DISTRICT 47 (84%D-9%R)

Hughes (I-D)	**41,825**	**89%**
Dahlin (R)	5,414	11%

Dr. Teresa Hughes is unbeatable.

DISTRICT 48 (85%D-9%R)

Waters (I-D)	**53,560**

In the 48th there wasn't even any opposition for Maxine Waters.

DISTRICT 49 (73%D-17%R)

Moore (I-D)	**74,754**	**78%**
Daniels (R)	21,436	22%

Gwen Moore is ready for the third term in what could be an unlimited tenure in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 50 (77%D-15%R)

Tucker (I-D)	**63,300**	**79%**
Thomas (R)	14,483	18%
Kelley (L)	2,239	3%

Curtis Tucker doesn't let a little heart surgery get in the way of a strong re-election drive.

DISTRICT 51 (42%D-46%R)

Helfer (D)	34,247	30%
Felando (I-R)	**76,068**	**67%**
Treynor (L)	3,768	3%

Republican incumbents Gerald Felando and Marilyn Ryan shot off all the fireworks in their reapportionment-forced primary clash. The general election was anticlimactic.

DISTRICT 52 (47%D-44%R)

Reza (D)	30,756	34%
Hill (R)	**59,143**	**66%**

This seat became available when Dave Stirling ran for attorney general. Frank Hill, aide to outgoing Congressman Wayne Grisham, as good as won election in the primary.

DISTRICT 53 (64%D-25%R)

Floyd (I-D)	**44,539**	**63%**
Mueller (R)	26,276	37%

Freshman Democrat Dick Floyd had a much easier time getting re-elected than he did securing the seat two years ago.

DISTRICT 54 (68%D-25%R)

Vicencia (I-D)	**49,281**	**65%**
Lynch (R)	24,757	33%
Turner (P)	2,016	3%

Usually it's legislators who become lobbyists. Popular Frank Vicencia did the reverse eight years ago and has had an easy time of it ever since.

DISTRICT 55 (68%D-22%R)

Alatorre (I-D)	**34,859**	**68%**
Ricchiazzi (R)	16,219	32%

Richard Alatorre has nothing to worry about except where to go from here.

DISTRICT 56 (79%D-12%R)

Molina (D)	**23,562**	**84%**
Hyde (R)	4,671	16%

Gloria Molina strengthens the women's caucus in the Assembly. The general was a snap after a grueling primary battle for the seat vacated by Art Torres.

DISTRICT 57 (65%D-24%R)

Elder (I-D)	**41,533**	**67%**
West (R)	18,706	30%
Chauser (P)	1,555	3%

This seat covers the Democratic part of Long Beach and Dave Elder feels comfortable.

DISTRICT 58 (45%D-43%R)

Springer (D)	39,086	34%
Brown (I-R)	**73,317**	**64%**
Haak (P)	2,176	2%

Dennis Brown feels just as good about the Republican territory in east Long Beach and northern Orange County.

DISTRICT 59 (66%D-26%R)

Calderon (D)	**47,513**	**64%**
Orozco (R)	24,121	33%
Swinney (L)	2,388	3%

Charles Calderon defeated four Democrats in the primary for the seat vacated by Marty Martinez' move to Congress. After June the going was easy.

DISTRICT 60 (64%D-27%R)

Tanner (I-D)	**39,917**	**71%**
Van Note (R)	15,359	27%
Argall (L)	1,348	2%

Democrat Sally Tanner rolls up another big victory.

DISTRICT 61 (42%D-46%R)

Kearney (D)	27,286	28%
Leonard (I-R)	**70,367**	**72%**

Bill Leonard can focus his attention on moving up in the Assembly leadership.

DISTRICT 62 (45%D-46%R)

Santell (D)	30,276	31%
Lancaster (I-R)	**67,101**	**69%**

Veteran Bill Lancaster of Covina is starting his sixth term and is now the senior Republican in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 63 (61%D-31%R)

Young (I-D)	**69,950**

Democrat Bruce Young won both parties' nominations.

DISTRICT 64 (41%D-48%R)

Johnson (I-R)	**76,428**

No one even bothered to run against Ross Johnson in this Republican stronghold.

DISTRICT 65 (54%D-35%R)

Cramer (I-D)	33,119	47%
Bader (R)	**36,779**	**53%**

This was one of the 10 most torrid races for the Assembly. Incumbent Democrat Jim Cramer edged the Republican mayor of Pomona, Charles Bader, two years ago. Since then Cramer has cast unpopular votes for salary increases and against strong crime measures while Bader honed his campaign skills. The outcome of the race in this district next time could be affected by the new reapportionment.

DISTRICT 66 (59%D-29%R)

Goggin (I-D)	**41,172**	**52%**
Miller (R)	38,634	48%

Four-term Assemblyman Terry Goggin, under investigation for campaign law violations, got the scare of his life this time. This was a race in which Republicans saw an opportunity to sneak up on a clear front-runner. They almost made it with Albert E. Miller who won the Republican nomination by write-in. The GOP might have won this seat with a stronger candidate.

DISTRICT 67 (36%D-53%R)

Broughton (D)	28,206	29%
Lewis (I-R)	**68,500**	**71%**

Freshman John Lewis had no trouble holding one of the most Republican Assembly seats.

DISTRICT 68 (55%D-33%R)

Clute (D)	**44,307**	**54%**
Stanton (R)	38,025	46%

Outspoken Democrat Walter Ingalls retired from this seat and registration gave a Democrat a slight advantage. Republican businessman John Stanton had the fundraising capacity to make this one of the hottest races in the state. But Willie Brown made it possible for Steve Clute, transportation director of the city of Rialto, to exceed the Republican's money and win on the registration edge in a Democratic year.

DISTRICT 69 (39%D-47%R)

Hanson (D)	34,155	35%
Frizzelle (I-R)	**63,084**	**65%**

Nolan Frizzelle won re-election to a second term in the primary in this Republican area of Orange County.

DISTRICT 70 (29%D-59%R)

Westfall (D)	31,066	26%
Bergeson (I-R)	**86,395**	**74%**

Marian Bergeson, who was involved in a similar write-in situation a few years ago, could spend most of her time watching the Crean-Packard-Archer congressional race.

DISTRICT 71 (51%D-38%R)

Wray (I-D)	41,222	45%
Allen (R)	**47,455**	**52%**
Barr (L)	3,306	3%

Incumbent Democrat Chet Wray was weakened a bit by reapportionment. Having won by only 500 votes two years ago, he could not afford even a little erosion. Doris Allen ran an effective campaign against the incumbent's record and eventually prevailed by a fairly wide margin.

DISTRICT 72 (53%D-35%R)

Robinson (I-D)	**34,776**	**56%**
Longshore (R)	27,089	44%

Incumbent Democrat Richard Robinson devoted much of his attention to other campaigns. He won by less than expected in the Orange County Republican tide.

DISTRICT 73 (45%D-44%R)

Scher (D)	36,631	36%
Kelley (I-R)	**65,255**	**64%**

Dave Kelley had no difficulty holding the seat he won two years ago.

DISTRICT 74 (34%D-51%R)

Frazee (I-R)	**37,509**

It's fun to run unopposed. All Republican Bob Frazee had to worry about was boredom.

DISTRICT 75 (37%D-45%R)

Roe (D)	41,497	43%
Mojonnier (R)	**54,990**	**57%**

Sunny Mojonnier narrowly won the Republican nomination in June. She found the general much easier.

DISTRICT 76 (36%D-50%R)

Van de Water (D)	32,464	35%
Bradley (R)	**60,609**	**65%**

The primary was decisive in this district for Republican businessman Bill Bradley of Escondido.

DISTRICT 77 (41%D-45%R)

Stirling (I-R)	**86,635**

Larry Stirling won his second term without opposition.

DISTRICT 78 (47%D-37%R)

Killea (D)	**59,684**	**58%**
Baker (R)	40,245	39%
Sands (L)	3,260	3%

This is the least Democratic seat that the Democrats won. A combination of a strong candidate and a well-run campaign against a weak campaign by Republican Jerry Baker produced a win for San Diego Vice Mayor Lucy Killea.

DISTRICT 79 (60%D-27%R)

Chacon (I-D)	**43,615**	**70%**
Gahn (R)	19,076	30%

This is a safe San Diego County seat for Pete Chacon.

DISTRICT 80 (53%D-34%R)

Peace (D)	**36,359**	**53%**
Perry (R)	32,546	47%

Two years ago Republicans carried this area and defeated incumbent Congressman Lionel Van Deerlin. In a Democratic year the narrow registration edge produced a victory for Steve Peace, who will replace his former boss, Wadie Deddeh.

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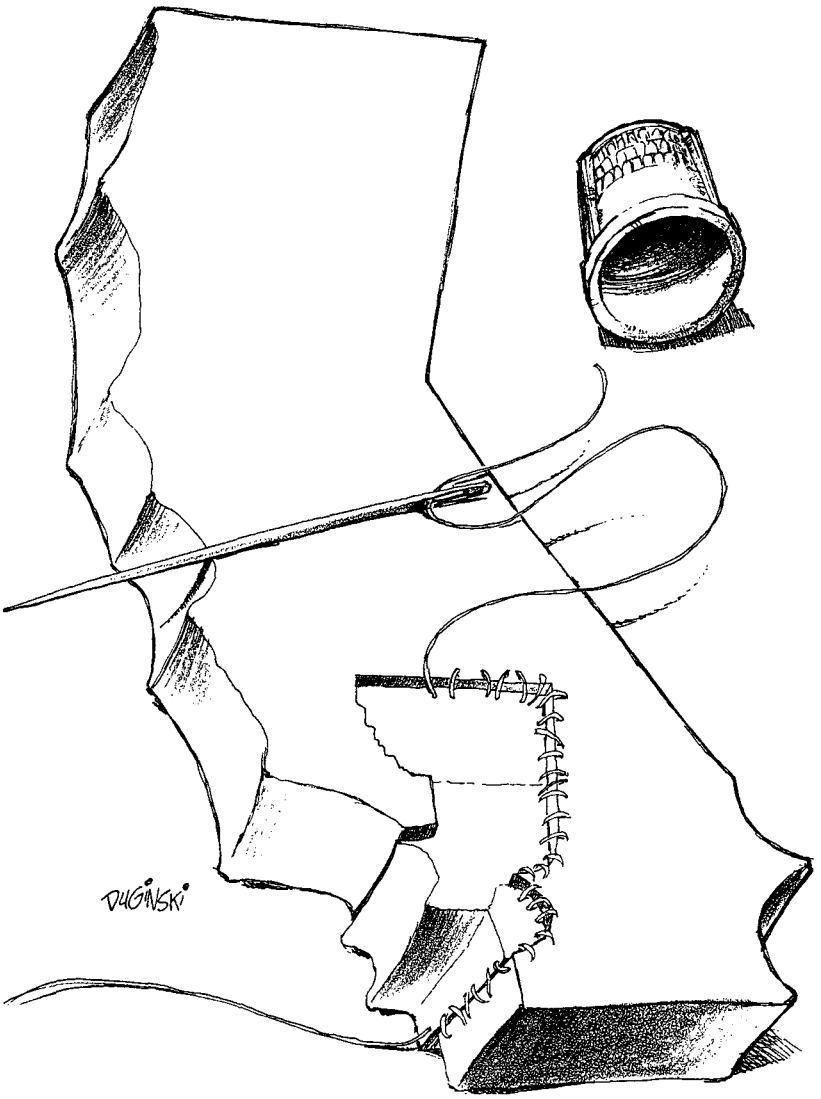
Mending the split in the supervisors' association

By KERRY DRAGER



"Reports of our demise are a little bit premature."

That was the way Larry Naake, executive director of the County Supervisors Association of California, bravely responded to the rumors earlier this year that CSAC was in deep trouble. A split between the state's northern and southern counties may be nothing new, but it would be potentially more damaging in the fiscal hard times that confront county governments in the '80s.

Many southern supervisors have bemoaned the fact that 16 years have passed since a representative from an urban Southern California county was elected to CSAC office. While most of the state's counties lie in the north, they are generally more rural and much smaller than those in the south. Yet because CSAC bylaws give each county an equal vote, the north has often been in the driver's seat when it comes to formulating policy. And things didn't improve any for the south when the north chalked up still another election victory at CSAC's annual meeting late last year. The emotion-charged affair left supervisors from Orange, Los Angeles and Kern counties so miffed that they threatened to pull out of CSAC altogether.

At issue was not just an election, but whether a north-controlled County Supervisors Association could effectively represent counties' — particularly the south's — interests in this era of austerity.

Several months have passed since those stormy times, however, and CSAC has survived intact. "I think there is a lot more awareness and sensitivity to the sister counties' problems and really a greater willingness to work together," says outgoing CSAC President Theresa Cook, a Placer County supervisor. "Things are running smoother than they were a year ago," adds Naake. "There doesn't seem to be the kind of hostility that there once was."

Indeed, nine months ago, Pete Schabarum was one of CSAC's more vocal critics from the south. Today, the Los Angeles County supervisor expresses optimism for the organization. "We're definitely in a positive mode right now," he says. And another southern supervisor, Walt Abraham of Riverside County, a member of CSAC's executive committee, adds: "Many of the things that caused the hard feelings in the past have been corrected. Counties are leaning more on CSAC for guidance, and the organization is really coming to the front."

The fiscal vise

Since Proposition 13 passed four years ago, county governments have been caught in an ever-tightening fiscal vise. They must provide an array of programs mandated by the state, often without adequate state funding. At the same time, the public demands services for which counties cannot raise additional taxes. And, along with this grim picture, there remain some lingering doubts about the role of the counties' statewide organization.

Kerry Drager is a free-lance writer in Sacramento and a frequent contributor to the Journal.

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"The big problem is that the cow counties of the north dominate CSAC, says San Diego County Supervisor Jim Bates, one of those unconvinced that things have improved much in the association. "What it gets down to is one county, one vote. Alpine County with 1,000 people is just as strong as Los Angeles County with 7 million — that's the underlying issue. It flares up at different times with different symptoms, but basically the problem is that the big counties fund the organization and the small counties call the shots."

The last representative from an urban southern county to serve as CSAC president was former LA Supervisor Warren Dorn, who was elected second vice-president in 1966 and took over the top post in 1968. (CSAC rules provide for a three-year ascent to the presidency.) Since then, just two Southern Californians, both from suburban counties, have become president — Daniel Grant of Santa Barbara in 1971-72 and Clayton Record of Riverside in 1978-79. (Riverside is now considered an urban county, due to recent population gains.)

The election of Contra Costa Supervisor Sunne Wright McPeak as CSAC second vice-president, in an intense campaign last year against Orange County Supervisor Harriett Wieder, triggered the newest north-south squabble. "It's very important to have access to the positions of power," says Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande. "And, if you never have the chance at the leadership, then you don't have sufficient influence in the organization. Let's face it, if someone wants to know CSAC's stand on an issue, they're going to ask the association's president."

Still, many observers consider this recent flap as merely another example of the natural antipathy between Northern and Southern California. Such north-south and urban-rural disputes are inevitable, they say, and do not necessarily reflect an impending dissolution of the County Supervisors Association. Indeed, says lobbyist Denny Valentine, CSAC executive director from 1979 until last December, this latest tiff was primarily an exercise in "bellyaching by a couple of supervisors from the south. Just because the south happened to have a candidate who was involved significantly in the association and decided she wanted to be president this time, to conclude that that reason and that reason alone should put her in office, I don't think is healthy," says Valentine. "And, although it was a secret ballot, the margin of the vote suggested there was a considerable number of southern supervisors who supported the winning (northern) candidate."

Nonetheless, most CSAC officers concede that the south had at least a partial gripe. And they have since taken steps to involve representatives from the south in association affairs. For example, Naake points out, several executive committee meetings were held in the south. And CSAC established a "legislative network" in the south and assigned a CSAC staffer as liaison between the Southern California region and the parent organization. These actions, Naake says, keep the southerners abreast of legislation affecting their counties and give them better input into CSAC's policy-making.

Suing the state

Internal politics aside, more important issues face counties these days. For instance, CSAC filed a class-action suit challenging the constitutionality of state-mandated programs for counties without providing reimbursement. Forty-eight counties, representing about 85 percent of the state's population, joined the lawsuit. CSAC estimates that legislative action in the 1982 session added more than $250 million in unfunded mandates on counties to provide health care for the poor, public assistance, workers' compensation and unreimbursed but approved state claims. The lawsuit has gone to trial in Sacramento Superior Court.

The key to winning local autonomy and adequate funding, say CSAC officials, is the banding together of counties — a situation, they say, that comes from unanimity of membership. "We had to work very hard together this past year on the state budget," says outgoing President Cook. "I don't see it lessening in the near future. So the counties really do have to present a unified front and speak with one voice on major statewide issues."

While the Peripheral Canal and other resource issues have frequently divided north and south, CSAC officers believe the larger issues should unite them. Most southern supervisors acknowledge that in such areas it is important to stick together. But, critics add quickly, those issues are often few. Nestande cites the varying factors — such as population and geography — that make each county unique, especially among the urban counties. The differences among the counties far outnumber the similarities, he says. As a result, he adds, "every piece of legislation seems to affect counties in different ways." Thus a county may find itself at odds with the association on a particular issue. "CSAC takes our money to run, sometimes, a counteroperation," notes San Diego's Bates, a former member of CSAC's executive committee.

Because of this, some southern supervisors question whether they are getting the best return for their CSAC money. They cite the one-county one-vote rule, giving the north an edge, and the dues structure, which is based on population. The three counties that talked of seceding — LA, Orange and Kern — account for 15 percent of CSAC's operating budget, $1.2 million in 1982. (No county, though, pays more than 10 percent of CSAC's dues, says Naake, "so it would not be a financial burden on LA County and so LA would not have financial control.")

The cost of representation runs even higher for counties which employ their own lobbyists in Sacramento. Therefore, some supervisors — mostly in the south — have reassessed their advocacy outlay. Los Angeles County, in particular, seriously considered the matter. Earlier this year, LA withheld half its dues to the association while the county evaluated CSAC's performance. "The board wasn't terribly satisfied with the results gained for having invested over $100,000 a year," says Supervisor Schabarum. (LA has since paid the other half of its dues and, for the current fiscal year, the county has paid in full.)

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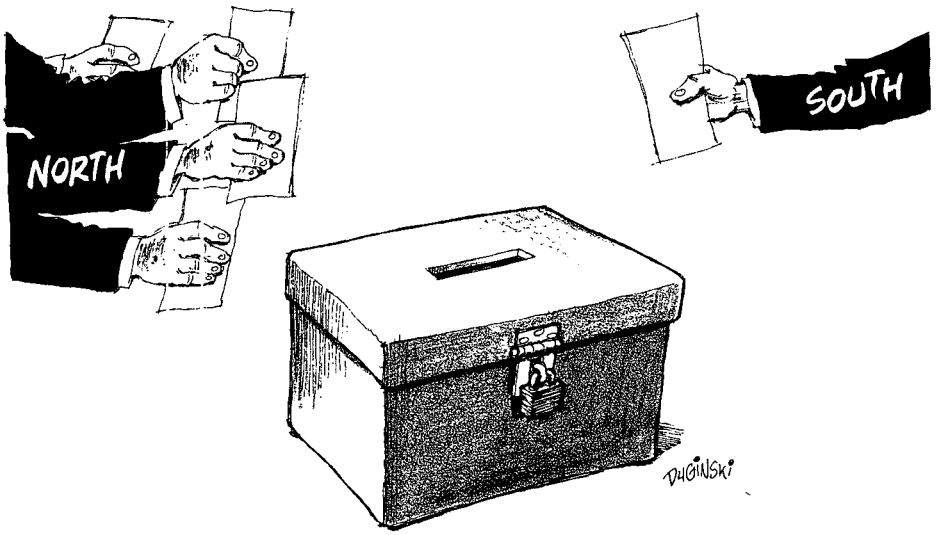

Nestande notes that even in the mid-'70s, when he was an assemblyman from Orange, he questioned the organization's usefulness to the county. "CSAC had positions on all these issues," he says, "and as often as not Orange County either didn't care about the issue or disagreed with CSAC." Now, when Orange County has a peculiar need, he says, the board finds it more effective to direct its own Sacramento lobbyist to work on the matter, rather than wait in line for CSAC. He adds that the statewide organization, with its large staff, is most useful to Orange County as a resource.

The tri-county alternative

Southerners have suggested alternatives ranging from pulling out of CSAC and beefing up individual lobbying offices in Sacramento to forming a Southern California supervisors' association. Supervisor Bates, who says San Diego County considered withdrawing from CSAC several years ago, prefers a smaller, tri-county organization consisting of the three biggest southern counties — Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego — rather than an all-inclusive Southern California association. The three counties, he notes, share common interests and could be quite effective in pooling their resources, especially since they represent some 12 million people.

"In the tri-county situation," Bates says, "the three boards of supervisors could meet together. Everybody could be involved, instead of getting into the old CSAC arrangement with representatives and once-removed participation. That's too bureaucratic, which is the problem we have now."

What would a departure of one or more major counties leave in its wake? While Naake doubts such a situation will arise, he believes that the organization could survive, although it would lose some of its influence since CSAC's strength lies in its ability to speak as a unified voice for all 58 counties. "I don't think a pullout would destroy the association," he says, "but it certainly would not help it any."

Valentine sees the possibility of a county or two dropping out of CSAC. However, the reason concerns dollars, not discontent, and the counties in question are the small ones of the north, not the large counties of the south. In these fiscally tight times, he says, "CSAC is no different from any other association. The small members are the ones that feel it the hardest."

Not every aspect of CSAC's internal structure favors the northern members. CSAC includes an executive committee, proportionate to population, that meets monthly and makes many association decisions. (Major policy decisions go before the board of directors, composed of one supervisor from each county, or before the general assembly at CSAC's annual fall meeting.) The executive committee consists of representatives from eight urban counties, four of them from the south, plus four suburban counties and three rural counties.

The CSAC presidency rotates among the urban, suburban and rural sections. While there has been a north-south rotation within the suburban and rural caucuses, there has been no such policy in the urban section. However, such a north-south rotation plan was approved by the executive committee this past summer.

Orange County's Nestande, though, reserves his enthusiasm regarding any urban rotation plan. "I've seen no hard proposal, I've seen no bylaws change proposed," he says. "Until I see something in writing, it's just talk."

One drawback of any north-south rotation is that beleaguered supervisors from large urban counties rarely have the time to take on the added responsibilities of CSAC. "An old saying is that an unfair tactic of the opposition is attendance at all the meetings," says San Diego's Bates. "That's how the small counties control CSAC. The meetings (in Sacramento) are a vacation for them. They don't have the problems that we have. We're on the go all the time. Because we can't always make those meetings, we don't move up into the leadership positions, so it's partly our fault."

Still, southern supervisors seem to be more involved in the organization these days, and this pleases CSAC officers. "It concerned us that we didn't have the participation (from the south) that we do now," says Cook, "and yet there was a willingness to criticize."

More than likely, any resolution of the recent CSAC spat is just a break in the action. The inherent diversity of California — north versus south, urban versus rural — will probably always be a source of ongoing debate within the association. Nevertheless, Cook believes California's counties are coming of age. "We're not road commissioners any longer," she says. "We deliver services for the state of California. We've gotten away from the fraternal type of organization and into an organization that means business."

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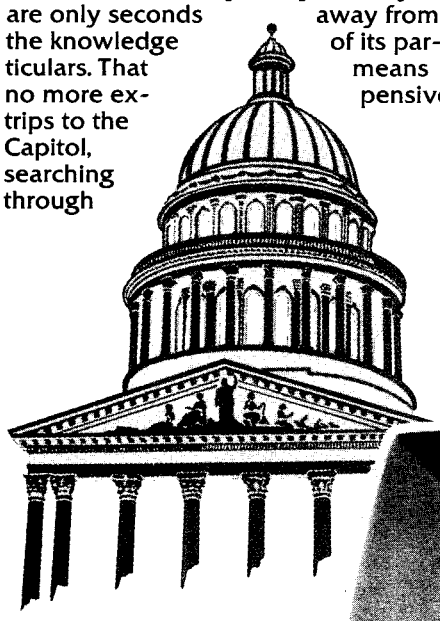

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Charge of the seniors against the power of PACs

By ROBERT P. STUDER

Janet Levy, California's state director of aging, looked at the crowd of senior citizens gathered outside the state Capitol and murmured: "Never have I seen them so angry. They are frightened, and they see benefits that they feel they are entitled to slipping away just when they need them the most . . ."

As she spoke, an elderly woman pushed her way to a microphone in the crowd and, quivering with frustration, exploded at both the Reagan Administration in Washington and the state Legislature over efforts to trim Medi-Cal and Social Security spending for seniors. Her words tumbled over one another in her agitation. Moments later, still angry, she pushed her way back to the mike and repeated the whole thing again — in Spanish.

Taken in isolation, that recent demonstration wouldn't have meant much; people get angry at their government all the time. The little woman, however — multiplied by millions of others equally frightened and frustrated — could add up to a floodtide that even the most reckless of politicians might prudently heed.

Signs are building that just such a potential confrontation may be developing between organized senior voters — with plenty of time on their hands — and some major campaign contributors. It could lead to a face-down soon between millions of elderly in California and the nation — together with other organized grassroots groups — and some political action committees which heretofore have had things pretty much their own way in the corridors of Sacramento and the halls of Congress.

In the past, California seniors have been frequent losers when their interests in the Legislature conflicted with those of more affluent special-interest groups. But now they are beginning to reap a harvest from their own better-organized numbers. Some indications of their growing influence:

● **Medi-Cal reform.** "While the Legislature's decision was helped by the state's current fiscal woes," says John Riggle, executive director of the state's Commission on Aging, "the organized seniors were a key part of a coalition which helped to hand the powerful medical and hospital lobby an unaccustomed defeat."

The senior-citizen lobby teamed up for the first time with labor and big business as partners on Senate President pro Tem David Roberti's "Medical Cost-Containment Coalition." This team helped push through AB 799, despite the vigorous opposition of the medical lobby. (See "The revolution in health care," *CJ*, November 1982.)

That legislation, which empowers the state to shop around for providers of hospitalization for Medi-Cal recipients, is a significant breakthrough in cost containment, Riggle points out, "because it will put some of the responsibility for it on the shoulders of physicians and hospitals."

● **The split-roll drive.** Organized seniors also came very close to qualifying a "split-roll" property tax initiative for the ballot. Senior citizens saw the proposal as a means of improving the state's tax base and, thereby, their own sense of security about vital services. The petition lost by only a handful of signatures. The state's senior citizens also were instrumental in helping passage of Assemblyman Art Torres' AB 2860, the Legislature's long-term-care reform measure in the 1982 session.

● **Tax-increase acceptance.** Most significant is a virtual turnaround — over the past three years — in senior citizen attitudes toward tax increases, according to Riggle. "Seniors have reached a point where they believe programs of concern to them cannot even be maintained unless there is some kind of selective tax increase," he says. "They may have lost out on their bid for a split-roll initiative, at least for the present, but they haven't given up on the basic idea of gaining additional income for the state. They realize you

Robert P. Studer is the Capitol bureau chief for Copley News Service.

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can't get money out of the bottom of a barrel unless you put some in at the top."

Such a change in viewpoint was evident at a recent session of the Senior Legislature, the second annual gathering of elderly delegates from throughout the state held at the Capitol. The delegates voted to back legislation calling for increases in cigarette and alcoholic beverage taxes, and for an oil severance tax, to provide human services for the poor, elderly, handicapped and others, as well as for education. Such thinking, obviously, puts California's senior population at variance with some of the strongest political action committees in the Capitol.

The senior-citizen lobby was unusually active during the campaign period before November's election. The Commission on Aging sent every candidate for state office and Congress a list of 16 key issues of concern to senior groups. "Seniors are becoming increasingly mature politically," Riggle says, "and they realize that such a pre-election approach would give them important leverage in getting the attention of potential office-holders. Senior organizations throughout the state held local forums to which candidates were invited to present their views."

Most of the questioning revolved around "survival issues" — Social Security, medical cost-containment, long-term health care, jobs for the elderly, soaring utility bills, the fate of categorical funds such as those supporting Foster Grandparent and the Green Thumb programs.

Looking ahead to the new legislative session, the senior-citizen groups say they will be pushing for alternatives to such institutional care as nursing homes in the long-term care of the elderly. They want more satisfying and less expensive services than those provided by the nursing homes which currently get about 98 percent of the long-term-care dollars.

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They also will seek legislation that would allow hospitals to hire doctors as salaried staff members. Such a plan was originally part of the recently passed Medi-Cal reform package, but the medical lobby succeeded in knocking it out.

While their goals seem headed for collision with some powerful PACs, the organized elderly stress that they are not anti-business. "We are not in opposition to the political action committees, as such, unless our basic interests are involved," says Frank Freeland, legislative spokesman for the American Association of Retired Persons. Freeland served as co-chairman of the Coalition of Taxpayers of California which helped to gather 640,453 signatures on the abortive split-roll property tax initiative earlier this year.

Changing demographics

The drive for political clout among California's senior citizens comes at a time when the total demographic mix is changing. With the end of the baby boom and improvement in health care, the world's population over 60 will outnumber the young by the middle of the 21st Century, according to projections by United Nations experts. By the year 2025, there will be 1.12 billion persons over 60 and 110 million over 80. In California alone, the current senior-citizen population is more than 3 million strong and getting stronger.

Could those seniors become a force in state politics without matching the campaign contributions of PACs seeking special-interest legislation? "We think it already is happening," Freeland says. "While we do not have the funds, we do have the votes. We know that senior citizens vote in greater proportions, and in greater numbers, than almost any other age group. By the promotional efforts and the campaign activities that we are carrying on, we are guiding the voting of our members, and we know they are responding." Freeland also is the California legislative chairman for the National Retired Teachers Association and vice chairman of the California Senior Coalition.

Carl Jones, California legislative chairman of the National Council of Senior Citizens, considers media events like the annual Senior Rally at the Capitol as "useful in drawing attention to problems of the seniors — and as a chance to let off a little steam. But," he says, "the real effective work takes place in the home offices of the legislative representatives, provided that those who do the lobbying vote in the district. They (legislators) know we seniors don't have much else to do besides sit around and whittle and talk to other folks, so they listen to us when we call on them."

Translating the numbers

Most leaders of senior lobbying groups know that it takes organization and education to translate sheer numbers into political strength. Tom Moore, the charter chairman of the California Senior Coalition, directs an organization formed in late 1981 which worked on the split-roll initiative earlier this year. "I send out newsletters to our National Retired Teachers Association and American Association of Retired Persons chapters all over the state," Moore says. "There are more than 300 of them, and this keeps them informed on what is happening in the Legislature. We keep track of special legislation we are supporting, and we send out petitions for them to circulate for signatures."

The educational impact of such coalition efforts may not add up to bloc voting, but it does strengthen support on specific issues.

Nevertheless, combatting entrenched political action committees is a formidable task. The PACs are armed with a potent weapon: the vast resources of funds that may be lavished on legislators deemed to be friendly or withheld from those deemed unfriendly. The emerging battle will be between the dollars of the big spenders and the votes of millions of citizens with their special interests at stake.

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'My election was a miracle' — Roden
'We must not abdicate to the right wing' — Gilbert
'I prosecuted the chairman of my finance committee' — Allen

. . . And for the prosecution, three liberal district attorneys

By NEILL BELL

Most district attorneys are so busy developing their tougher-than-thou images that it is difficult to imagine one of them talking about the rights of the accused. Yet that is exactly what has been going on in Santa Barbara, Mendocino and Yolo counties, where liberal DAs have been doing business for the past four years.

How did these men get themselves elected, and what has life been like for three liberal prosecutors in the conservative law-enforcement community?

Stan Roden of Santa Barbara, Rick Gilbert of Yolo and Joe Allen of Mendocino are as different as the counties they serve. But their collective experience as liberal DAs in the crime-and-punishment world offers some insights into the California system of criminal justice.

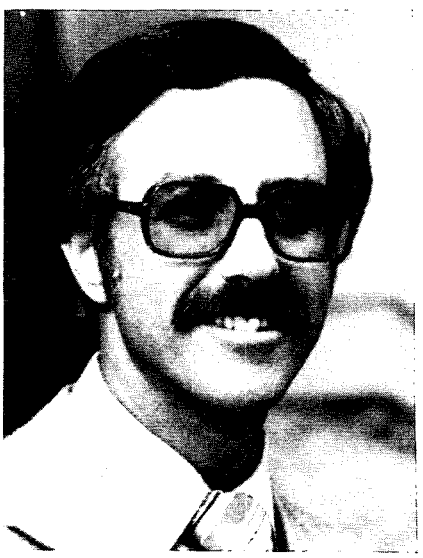
Santa Barbara

"My election was a miracle," says DA Stan Roden. "I had been active as an attorney, but I had no real community involvement, and I had never run for any office before. You could say that I seemed like the least likely candidate to knock off a well-known young Republican incumbent in 1974."

Nevertheless, Roden did defeat the incumbent DA under whom he had served as deputy for two years in the '60s. "The cops all loved me as a prosecuting attorney," Roden remembers. "I'm a fighter in the courtroom, and when I got a case, I gave it everything I had."

But when Roden resigned his deputy's job in 1970, he took on the defense of several of the Isla Vista riot defendants. To his former admirers in law enforcement, Roden instantly became a renegade. "I became enemy number one after that. I had to subpoena some officers, and I made some of them very uncomfortable on the witness stand. Even though I have a better relationship with most of the law enforcement people now, I've never been able to heal all of those wounds."

In addition to near-universal opposition from the law enforcement community, Roden had little going for him at the start of the 1974 campaign. His opponent's mistakes and events on the national political scene appear to have shaped his victory that year. Roden feels that his predecessor's close ties to the socially and politically conservative elite created an appearance of insensitivity to other elements in the community. "I think a large segment of the community no longer trusted the DA's office to administer the law fairly and impartially," Roden says. "And then there was Watergate — the scandal had just broken wide open, and people everywhere were becoming very sensitive to ethical issues."



RODEN

For the rookie DA, winning the election was just the beginning of his battles. "All of the deputy DAs had campaigned vigorously against me," recalls Roden, "so things were a little strained at first," After a half-year of relative calm, Roden began restructuring the office to reflect his own philosophy. He remembers the intense infighting among employees during this period as the "most difficult to live through," both personally and professionally.

There was plenty of opposition from outside the office, too. Roden's new policies in dealing with police agencies added to their resentment. "The attitude before I took office was, 'When you get something from the cops, file it and make them happy.' So no matter how bad the cases were, the DA's office usually filed them. When you put crap into the system like that, it just messes everything up — jams the courts, wastes time and reduces the image of justice.

"I think that this office should never be identified with uniformed law enforcement. We're the law firm for them; it's not our job to defend all of their actions. The DA's real job is to draw the line. If the case isn't there, don't put it through the system. Most law enforcement officials know this is correct," Roden says, "but it is difficult for some of them to hear a DA who doesn't talk like a cop. Now they prepare cases better, and they don't come here with crap and expect us to label it for anything but what it is. Things are running smoother now, because most officers want to do the job right."

Roden also had to face criticism from his own liberal supporters during his first term. He found that prosecution — or lack of it — drew fire from friends as well as foes.

When the 1978 elections approached, Roden considered stepping

Neill Bell is a free-lance writer and an author of non-fiction books for children. He lives in Redwood Valley, Mendocino County.

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down. But no liberal or moderate candidate stepped forward to challenge an announced conservative, so Roden decided he had to run for re-election. "It was a tough, close campaign, centered around fundamental law enforcement issues," says Roden. In spite of continued opposition from law enforcement and monied interests within the community, he won. Roden declined to run for a third term this year because, as he says, "I never intended to make this a career. I feel that I've done my public service, and I'm not going to fall asleep in office."

Mendocino

Unlike most other district attorneys, Joe Allen had not served as a prosecuting attorney before his election in 1978. But he did spend seven years observing prosecution closely — from the other side, as the Mendocino public defender.

"The district attorney's office made my reputation as a trial attorney," says Allen, "by handing me a stick to beat them with. They would routinely overcharge and file cases that would never stick in a jury trial. This made me look very good as a defense attorney, but it did little to promote the workings of the criminal justice system in general."

Allen says that his predecessor was allied with "the most reactionary elements in the community. He proved insensitive to the misconduct of other public officals, and his office had become a focal point in the local power structure." With the combined backing of liberals, former clients and exurbanite, alternative-lifestyle people, Allen defeated his opponent in June 1978 by a surprinsingly substantial margin.

Then he found his first year in office just as difficult as had Roden. Allen inherited a contingent of deputies who had worked against his election, with different ideas about the administration of justice. His biggest problem, however, came from outside his jurisdiction: state and federal enforcement officials and their campaign to uproot North Coast marijuana growing.

Allen had never kept secret his fundamental disagreement with laws against cultivation and use of marijuana. In his campaign, he vowed to give prosecution of marijuana offenses and other "victimless" crimes a lower priority than offenses against persons and property.

His fear of being caught in the middle of a political squeeze play was realized the first summer after Allen took office, when Attorney General George Deukmejian paid a visit to Mendocino County. The AG came complete with a small army of flak-jacketed narcotics officers carrying automatic weapons, Justice Department staffers and media people, including three television crews from Sacramento and the Bay Area. Standing before a backdrop of marijuana foliage, Deukmejian announced that he was declaring war on Mendocino pot growers and pledged the resources to get the job done. Allen learned about the raid some hours later when newspeople — returning from the dawn foray — stopped by his Ukiah office to get his reaction.

Allen fought heavy pressure from within and without the county to get tough with illegal cultivators. He adopted a policy of filing most cases as misdemeanors, reserving felony prosecution only for those cases involving great numbers of plants. Narcotics officers pushed Allen hard to alter these policies and even suggested in one instance that his office had tipped off growers just before a raid was to take place.

"It's ironic," says Allen, "that Department of Justice statistics show Mendocino with the greatest number of arrests and convictions for marijuana cultivation — more than any other DA in the state. Emotionally, this has cost me a great deal." So much, in fact, that Allen decided only halfway through his term not to run for re-election this year. "I would still rather be thought crazy or politically suicidal than to be hypocritical," he says.

Allen believes he has made a contribution in the area of impartial prosecution. "I don't move in the same social circles as the movers and shakers of this community," he says. "Consequently, I feel free to prosecute them with the same zeal usually reserved for low-life types. For example, one of the people I prosecuted was the chairman of my campaign finance committee — he was convicted, by the way. I may be a good old boy, but not when it comes to letting some people off on the same offense for which others are paying fines or serving jail time."

Like Roden, Allen insists that the DA's office is not obligated to prose-

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cute questionable cases developed by law enforcement agencies. "An independently elected DA works for the people, not the cops. In fact, I think there are many instances when it becomes the DA's job to police the cops, not just defend them. To act otherwise is to invite sleazy police work, and no system of justice can tolerate that sort of thing."

Yolo

A candidate who makes a campaign issue out of plea bargaining by an incumbent opponent is not likely to be a liberal. Yet Yolo County DA Rick Gilbert was such a candidate, and he is clearly no conservative.

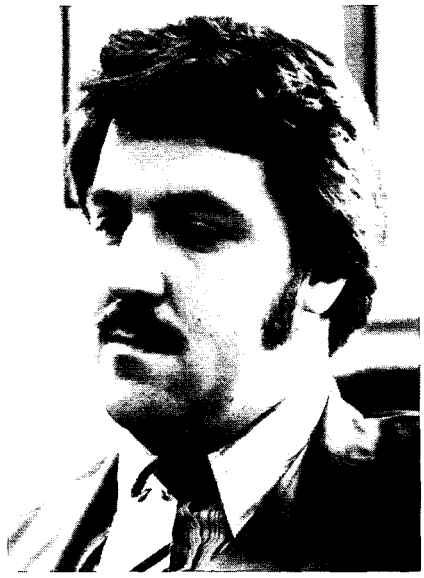
His election in 1978 resembled the Cinderella-like victories of Roden and Allen. His opponent was a two-term conservative with solid support from the local establishment. Like his two liberal colleagues, Gilbert feels he entered office on a minor wave of reform spirit directed against members of the "old boy" elite in the community.

Gilbert began as a deputy DA under the man he was eventually to defeat, but, unlike Roden, his relationship with law enforcement was good at the time he was elected. "I was popular with most officers because I had spent two-and-a-half years in charge of legal training," he says. "A lot of them knew me from those classes and had some respect for me, even if they didn't always agree with my views."

Gilbert raised the issue of plea bargaining during his campaign not because he disagreed with the practice in principle, but because he thought it was being abused by his opponent. "I don't think people should be concerned about trying to eliminate plea bargaining," he says. "The real question that has to be asked is 'Why should we do it in this particular case?' It has to be done fairly, with personalities taken out of it if it is to be used at all."

Gilbert took two politically risky positions on important issues in the same year that he won office: He opposed Proposition 13, and he came out against the death penalty intitiative. In spite of those stands and the heavy financial backing of his opponent, Gilbert won all three of the major population centers from the incumbent — Davis, West Sacramento and even his opponent's stronghold, the county seat of Woodland.

The reform-minded Gilbert expected to have a rough first year in office. He probably would have, had it not been for one event: Two weeks before he was to take office, two Highway Patrolmen were murdered on an interstate highway in Yolo County. Gilbert's image was instantly



ALLEN

GILBERT

transformed from a liberal reformer into the hard-nosed prosecutor of a cop-killer.

"There's no doubt that this has had an important effect on my first term in office," admits Gilbert. "That trial put me on a pedestal, as far as many people in law enforcement were concerned, and I did my best to aggressively prosecute the case." When the guilty verdict finally came down in March 1981, the DA had the task — considering his ethical and political reservations — of asking for the death penalty. "No matter how I felt about it, that's the law, and that was the job I had to do. It wasn't easy for me, but I did it."

Other actions the Yolo DA has taken have been easier personally but more difficult politically. He set up uniform standards in evaluating and filing cases that initially resulted in several being sent back to the police departments. The reactions were predictably negative.

"The biggest pressure on a deputy DA is the day-to-day dealings with law enforcement officers," Gilbert says. "Deputies have to make filing and procedural decisions that may not go along with what those officers would like to see. The DA has to be willing to step in and take the heat, to back up his policies consistently." Gilbert has developed a manual of specific crime-charging policies and made them available to Yolo defense attorneys as well as law enforcement people, so that all parties have a good idea of how an offense is likely to be handled.

Like his counterparts in Mendocino and Santa Barbara, Gilbert doesn't avoid controversy. He publicly criticized those opposed to the confirmation of state Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso. "In my view, to assail a judge for his reasoned application of legal principles — by using such glib buzz words as 'technicalities' — does a disservice to the public, he says. It bespeaks either a disregard for or a misunderstanding of our criminal justice system of a magnitude that tends to threaten social order and our fundamental liberties." He also has charged that Attorney General Deukmejian's analysis of two of Reynoso's opinions "inaccurately and unfairly characterized the facts and holdings of those cases."

Gilbert's liberal views are quite acceptable to many of his constituents. His county was one of the few in the state in which a majority of the voters rejected Proposition 8, the Victims' Bill of Rights, last June. Even more significant was the fact that Gilbert was able to run unopposed for a second term this year. He is the only one of the trio of liberal DAs who will continue in office for the next four years.

Even so, Gilbert views his continuing public service as a prosecutor with some trepidation. He feels that most people have little understanding of how the justice system works and that a few politicians are capitalizing on this ignorance in an irresponsible fashion. "I have to ask myself, 'If this trend continues, can I continue to exist in this criminal justice system?' " says Gilbert.

"Those of us who would not be offended by being called 'liberals' must correct another long-standing error that we have made: We must prove to the public that we can have both a safe society and a free society and that those two concepts are not incompatible . . . We must not, as we have in the past, abdicate to the right wing the job of proposing solutions to the crime problem."

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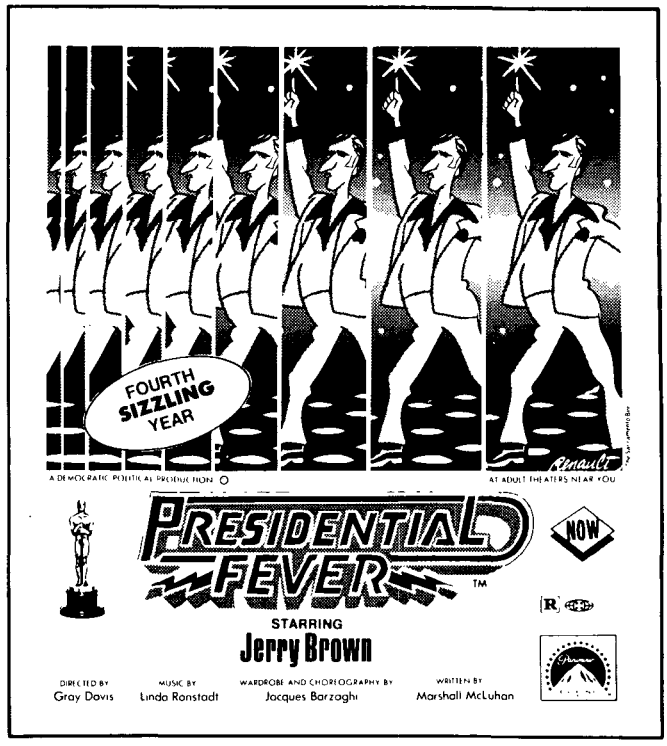

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Burton rides again

It's not every day that a political wizard can arrange with a fine sense of precision the outcome in 45 congressional elections. But that's just about what Democratic Congressman Phillip Burton of San Francisco managed to pull off in California's House contests. His reapportionment map worked like a charm as Democrats picked up six seats in a delegation they will now control by a hefty 28-17 margin. Republicans tried to counter the Burton gerrymander with every weapon at their disposal — court challenges, ballot measures and tons of money for GOP candidates. But when the dust settled, the Burton steamroller in California was unstoppable and helped Democrats across the country shatter President Reagan's conservative coalition in the House.

THE CASUALTY LIST includes John Rousselot of San Marino, the most influential California Republican on Capitol Hill who was specially targeted by Burton. Also defeated was Don Clausen of Crescent City, the chairman of the GOP contingent. Even before the returns were in, the head of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, respectfully conceded: "We were out-Burtoned."

Burton spent more than a year in devising and executing his master plan, fending off attacks not only from Republicans but also from jittery colleagues on his side of the aisle who worried (unnecessarily, as it turned out) that he was endangering their seats in his zeal to create more Democratic districts. Burton worked closely with the West Los Angeles liberal organization of Congressman Henry Waxman and Assemblyman Howard Berman in picking Democratic candidates for new spots and fashioning districts around them. Berman himself won a House seat in a Burton-designed district. So did several Waxman-Berman protégés, including Assemblyman Mel Levine in West Los Angeles and Richard Lehman in the San Joaquin Valley. The other basic element in Burton's strategy was a deal with Hispanics to increase their numbers in the delegation from one to three. Veteran Democratic Congressman Ed Roybal of Los Angeles will have two Hispanic colleagues next year, Esteban Torres and Marty Martinez.

The main bout in the multi-faceted reapportionment tournament, however, was between Burton and Rousselot — the two towering figures in the delegation. As executive vice chairman of the House GOP Campaign Committee, Rousselot actively went after Democratic scalps in the 1970s. He groomed and financed GOP challengers and gradually whittled away big Democratic majorities from Burton's 1970 reapportionment to a slim 22-21 margin. Two years ago, Rousselot went so far as to engineer a strong opposition campaign in the Bay Area distict of John Burton, Phil's brother. That proved to be a fateful — and costly — step.

Phil Burton struck back by fashioning a redistricting map that added extra strength to his brother's district and decimated Rousselot's. When the mercurial John Burton pulled a surprise by suddenly retiring from politics, Republicans thought they had discovered a chink in Phil's armor. They noticed he had diluted Democratic strength in his own district to help John and thought he could be toppled. Rousselot helped coax popular GOP state Senator Milton Marks into the race against Burton. The strategem, however, didn't work. With a big outpouring of support from labor, environmentalists and other allies, Burton coasted to re-election, winning by an 18-point margin. Despite sharp editorial criticism of Burton's high-handed gerrymander tactics (both San Francisco papers endorsed Marks) and his challenger's solid support from business interests and the White House, Burton survived. Rousselot was not so fortunate. Deprived of his own base and unwilling to get into a primary shoving match with Republican Carlos Moorhead in a nearby district, Rousselot opted to challenge Burton's reapportionment plan head-on. He jumped into an East Los Angeles district specially designed for Martinez, a prime protégé of the Burton-Waxman-Berman troika. Rousselot outspent Martinez 4-to-1 — $800,000 to $200,000. The contest turned into a national test of strength pitting corporate interests that provided lavish support for Rousselot against labor groups and the organizational muscle of the Waxman-Berman apparatus. Michael Berman, Howard's brother and a Burton assistant on reapportionment, masterminded the Martinez campaign. Rousselot rode in Mexican-American parades, learned some Spanish and blitzed the district with a hard-hitting mail campaign. But when the votes were counted, he was crushed by Burton's reapportionment. The district was 63 percent Democratic and 54 percent Hispanic.

Results in other key congressional contests also followed the Burton script. Democrats picked up two new seats from the 1980 census with victories by San Diego Supervisor Jim Bates and Assemblyman Richard Lehman in the Fresno-Stockton area. Berman and Levine will replace Republicans Barry Goldwater Jr. and Bob Dornan, both of whom ran unsuccessfully for the Senate. Along the North Coast, Assemblyman Doug Bosco toppled Clausen, the Republican dean, in the only race where reapportionment was not decisive. Clausen had shown signs of increasing weakness in recent years and was ripe for a challenge by a popular opponent. High unemployment in the timber industry and environmental protests against Interior Secretary James Watt's push for expanded off-shore oil drilling also hurt the incumbent. Burton further reduced Clausen's waning strength by depriving him of Napa County.

WHILE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATS will go into the new Congress with a big cadre of savvy new operators, the Republican delegation is in shambles. With the defeat or retirement of half a dozen veterans, its seniority has been cut to practically nothing. Moorhead, with only 10 years in the House, is the new GOP dean. Gone will be Paul McCloskey, another casualty of the Republican Senate primary, and Clair Burgener of San Diego, a respected California voice on Appropriations who decided to call it quits. When you add Rousselot, Clausen, Dornan and Goldwater to the departure list, that's quite a void.

To put icing on Burton's cake, California voters rejected a Republican-Common Cause initiative to take reapportionment out of the hands of the Legislature, which had ratified Burton's redistricting map, and entrust it to an appointed commission. Last June, the same voters ordered new lines drawn for 1984. But with the defeat of the November "reform" measure, Burton & Company are back in business.

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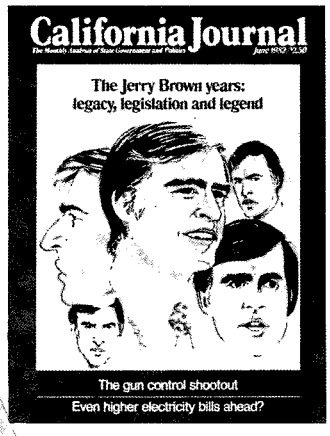

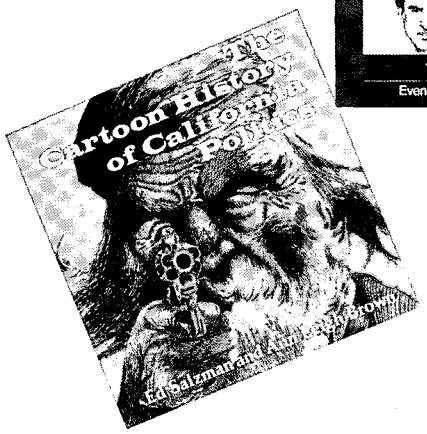

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— John Steinbeck

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